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Author(s): CYRIL TOUMANOFF

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INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIAN CAUCASIAN HISTORY

II: STATES AND DYNASTIES OF THE FORMATIVE PERIOD *

By CYRIL TOUMANOFF

1. Part One of this *Introduction* was concerned with the historical background of Caucasian Society; it dealt, accordingly, in some detail with the genesis and structure of that society, more particularly of its creative minority, the nobility, and in especial the spearhead of the nobility, the group of the dynastic princes. That study investigated also the ethos of this important and restricted group, a caste in fact, and its juridical status: the sovereign rights of the Princes, who were, under the presidency of kings, the real rulers of Caucasia; their internationally recognized position of minor kings; the ethno-political self-sufficiency and self-determination of their States, of which Armenia and to a large extent also the other Caucasian countries were little more than federative unions; the dependence of the Princes on other and greater monarchs; and the superadding of feudalistic features, resulting from this dependence, to the fundamentally dynastic régime of Caucasia. Here, in the present study, it is proposed to consider this group in the concrete: to examine it, that is, as so many individual historical-genealogical-geographical (and often also ethnic) units. The preponderant role of the Caucasian dynastic aristocracy in the history of the formative centuries made, especially in Armenia, of this history, and of that of the following centuries as well, largely the history of these princely houses. This fully justifies our interest in this particular aspect of the Caucasian social development.¹

* See 'Introduction to Christian Caucasian History: The Formative Centuries (IVth-VIIIth),' *Traditio* 15 (1959) 6-106 (The Historical Background of Caucasian Society): hereinafter *Introd.* I. — The bibliographical abbreviations used here are the same as in that study. — The following corrections are hereby offered to *Introd.* I: on the maps (105-106), Lake Palakac'io is left unnamed and Lake P'anavari, northeast of it, is not shown; Tašir ought to lie between the two rivers, not north of them; Angl in Całkotn, ought to be situated on the river Arsianias (Sebēos 22[118]); Dariwnk' is misspelled, and so is Bayberd; and Abrahamean is to be deleted (*infra* n. 290); and on p. 40 n. 82 (p. 41), the two references to Ptolemy ought to be 5.10.2.

¹ Materials for the present study have been published in *Le Muséon* 72, as *Lists and Vilaxae*, and are now superseded by it. For an early attempt in this direction, see J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* I (Paris 1818) 205-278: 'Sur l'origine des différents noms de l'Arménie et de quelques unes de ses provinces.'

Owing to the nature and conditions of the sources at our disposal,² this study is chiefly concerned with the Princes of Great Armenia. However, the imperial structure of the Armenian Monarchy alone guarantees the pan-Caucasian character of our study. Many of these Princes came from the Iberian (East Georgian) and Albanian confines and were drawn within the orbit of the Artaxiad or Arsacid empire of Armenia; and, conversely, a number of Armenian dynasts found themselves at one time or another out of it and within the Iberian or the Albanian orbit.³

A list of the princely dynasties of Armenia at the time of Justinian was drawn up by Adontz in his great book.⁴ His achievement was impressive but left room for improvement. His list is incomplete, from the point of view of the present study at any rate, because he did not include in it the houses which left the Armenian orbit in the course of the third and fourth centuries; it is also inexact, because he introduced in it names that did not in fact designate any princely houses. His statistical conclusions and also his considerations of the military potential of the Princes admit of a revision; and the precedence which he thought clearly indicated in the sources is in reality far less easy to discern. The present study, it is hoped, will supplement and correct Adontz.

2. Armenia and Iberia, as well no doubt as Colchis (West Georgia) and Albania, were immemorially divided into 'lands' or cantons that represented the territorialized tribes and clans which at the dawn of history had fused to produce the Caucasian nations. The Armenian lands were subsequently grouped together into a few provinces. It may be well to recall briefly the configuration of the lands so grouped: the three central groups, the inner, north of lake Van, called subsequently Ayrarat; the western, or Turuberan; and, divided from it, by the lake, the eastern, or Vaspurakan; as well as the circular zone round them formed, clockwise, by Gogarene in the north and then Otene, Artsakh, Caspiane, Siunia inland west of it, Persarmenia, Adiabene, Gordyene, Moxoene inland north of it and just south of Van, the former Kingdom of Sophene, Upper Armenia, and Tayk'.⁵ The great majority of the princely States of Great Armenia were conterminous with 'lands': precisely as their dynasties were for the most part descended from the ancient

² *Introd.* I 51, 88-90.

³ But also within the Byzantine or the Iranian orbit.

⁴ *Armenija* 236-321.

⁵ *Introd.* I 72. There *ašzarh* is translated as 'province' or 'land' and *gawar* as 'canton.' The latter term, however, is to all intents and purposes the equivalent of the Georgian *k'ueqana*, that is, precisely, 'land.' Accordingly, here, the first Armenian term is to be rendered as 'province' or 'country,' the second as 'land' or 'canton.'

rulers of the tribes and clans to which these territories had once belonged. There were States, however, that included entire provinces or at least several 'lands'; and while some dynasties accumulated several originally separate States, others formed secundo-genitures and tertio-genitures out of their original princedoms.

3. In listing the Princes here, it is important to bear in mind that they ought to be divided, from the purely chronological point of view, into those of the Arsacid period and those of the post-Arsacid period. The formative centuries of Caucasian, and especially Armenian, history fall sharply into these two distinct phases. The cleavage between them was effected by a series of events that manifested the decline and fall of the Arsacid Monarchy of Great Armenia. The roots of this decline and fall reach far: — to the juridical incompatibility of the Iranian and the Roman claims to Caucasia, stemming from the very nature of the inheritances invoked, the *pax achaemenia* and the *pax macedonica*, and to the practical necessity to control the area whence each imperial rival could make an easy thrust at the other's vulnerable parts: Ctesiphon, the 'Roman lake,' later Constantinople; — the area which did actually control, in turn, the mountain passes, fortified, so the legend would have it, by Alexander himself for the protection of the civilized *οἰκουμένη* from the hyperborean inroads from beyond the Caucasus; — the area, finally, from which control could be extended southwards to the boundary line that separated the two mutually exclusive cosmocracies. The *modus vivendi* between these as attempted at Rhandaia in the year of grace 63 has already been mentioned in Part One of this *Introduction*. But the balance of power it sought to achieve was never more than highly precarious. And, then, new developments upset it altogether. First, the Hellenized and philhellenic Arsacid Great Kings were overthrown early in the third century by a new dynasty, the Sassanids, who championed a neo-Achaemenian *renovatio* of Iran and who would no longer acquiesce in a settlement that set limits to their cosmocratic claims. At the same time, the dynastic condominium of several Arsacid lines, imperial, Armenian, Iberian, and Albanian, which in guaranteeing the family ascendancy of the Great King over the Caucasian kings offered him a compensation for whatever admission of the rights of Rome in Caucasia, was terminated, as something of a family feud came to separate the Caucasian royal houses from the Sassanid 'usurpers.' Finally, the religious developments of the time made the situation wholly irresolvable. 'New Iran' was committed to the religion of militant Zoroastrianism, whereas, within a century of its 'rebirth,' both the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Armenia, under Tiridates III, accepted Christianity. True enough, Sassanian diplomacy was successful in securing, at that very time, the throne of Iberia for a branch of the Iranian house of Mihrān, but

the adoption soon thereafter of the Christian religion by the first Mihranid king, Mirian I, frustrated this move. The general facility of religious syncretism existed now no more than the Arsacid dynastic community; accordingly, no coexistence of 'New Rome' and 'New Iran' in Caucasia was possible.

The struggle of empires accompanying the accession of the Sassanids consisted of a long series of wars that were to end only with the destruction of the Iranian Monarchy in the seventh century; and it drove the Arsacids of Armenia into the arms of Rome. But, in this struggle, Rome too often proved a staff of broken reed. Twice she was the loser, in 244 and 250, which meant the rise of Iranian influence in Caucasia, and once indeed the winner: when, by the treaty signed at Nisibis in 298 by Caesar Galerius and the Great King Narses, Iran ceded to Rome not only Armenia's Syrian March, once the Kingdom of Sophene, and Arzanene, the Arabian March, to be held in a special way; but also, as is clear from the historical context, the suzerain rights over the three Caucasian kingdoms, Armenia, Iberia, and Albania. Colchis, the fourth Caucasian kingdom, had been reduced to a Roman province in the days of Nero. The next war was begun by the first Christian Emperor shortly before his death. It dragged on intermittently until 363, when it ended in still another defeat of Rome. The foolhardiness of Julian was paid for by his successor, who had to retrocede to Iran the suzerain rights over the three kingdoms and also the special rights in Arzanene. However, within a decade, in 371, the Emperor Valens re-established Roman overlordship in Armenia; and he was also able to recover a half of Iberia, which as a result was split into two kingdoms, one, ephemeral and ending in 378, under Roman suzerainty, the other under Iranian. It had become obvious in the fourth century that division was the only possible solution of an otherwise unsolvable situation. It was thus tried first in Iberia; and it was resorted to, in the following decade, as a basis for a renewed *modus vivendi* between the two empires, at the expense of Armenia.

These imperial policies in Caucasia were aided by the internal tension between the Crown and the dynastic aristocracy. The attitude of the Caucasian Princes to the Crown has already been examined in Part One of this study; so have also been the attempts of the kings to become more than *primi inter pares*, presidents of dynastic federations, and the superimposition of feudal features upon a dynastic society which resulted from these attempts. The balance between the Crown and the dynasts was one of tension and, therefore, delicate; and, in the course of the history of Armenia and Iberia, it was not seldom upset. The struggle that broke out at home would often become involved in the vaster conflict of empires raging outside. In the polarity of Rome-Iran, the Kings of Armenia and Iberia gravitated towards the autocratic and bureaucratic Roman State, and this trend was now en-

hanced by the meta-political prestige of the Christian Emperors. Their princely vassals, on the other hand, though Christians, were drawn towards the aristocratic realm of the Sassanids. One of the internal crises began in 377/8, when the leader of the aristocracy, Manuel, Prince of the Mamikonids, expelled King Varazdat of Armenia and assumed the reins of government. The chief quarrel of the Princes with Iran being religious, the Great King Sapor II's guarantee of religious freedom, as well as of political autonomy, to Armenia induced the Mamikonid government to recognize in 378/9, while the Roman Empire was paralyzed by the disaster of Adrianople, the suzerain rights of the Great King. Soon, however, the weakness of Sapor and his successors and the rise of the great Theodosius decided Manuel to transfer Armenia's allegiance back to the Empire. Restoring to the throne two Arsacid brothers, the co-Kings Arsaces III and Vologases, Manuel continued to rule until his death in 385/6. Thereafter, the cooperation of Crown and dynasts came to an end. Some of the Princes revolted against Arsaces and appealed to Ctesiphon for another Arsacid as king. Varazdat's son Chosroes was then sent home by Sapor III at the head of an Iranian army and occupied the greater part of the kingdom, while the fleeing Arsaces found himself reduced to Upper Armenia on the Roman frontier, where Imperial troops offered him but weak protection. Armenia herself thus caused her own partition. Both the Emperor and the Great King eagerly seized upon this opportunity of achieving a peaceful settlement of their relations on the basis of the *fait accompli* of a self-divided apple of discord. In the peace of Acilisene of 387 the existence of two Armenian kingdoms, one under Roman, the other under Iranian overlordship was ratified. But Iran received the lion's share, the eastern realm being at least five times larger than the combined territory of the western realm and the Sophenian lands kept by the Empire from 298. Faced with the barbarian pressure elsewhere and with internal troubles, the Christian empire, a broken reed indeed, ceded to the chief enemy of Christendom an important part of the *respublica christiana*. The whole of Iberia must by now have been abandoned to Iran. Albania had remained Iranian after 363.

Political disintegration came in the wake of division. In the western realm, King Arsaces III died about 390; and the Emperor allowed him no successor. Thus, the several Princes of the late King's obedience came under the immediate suzerainty of the Roman Emperor, exactly as had in 298 those of the Syrian March. But whereas the latter had no intermediary between the Emperor and themselves, the former were placed under a viceroy, styled *comes Armeniae* and residing at Theodosiopolis (Erzerum of to-day). This arrangement in both parts of Roman Armenia continued until the reign of Justinian I. In Iranian Armenia, called *Persarmenia* by the Byzantines,

the Third Armenian Monarchy was allowed to continue for nearly half a century longer. The Crown weakened and the insubordination of the Princes grew, as, with the connivance of the Court of Ctesiphon, one king after another was dethroned by them. The Princes, finally grown weary of all authority above their own in Armenia, petitioned the Great King to abolish the very institution of the Monarchy and to become their immediate overlord. Vahrām V, who could hardly have hoped for such a fulfilment of the Armenian policy of his house, hastened to accede to this request. In 428, he deposed King Artaxias IV, deprived, moreover, the then head of the Armenian Church, St. Isaac, of his position, and showered favors upon the Princes. The Court of Iran was careful to respect their dynastic rights, and its suzerainty was expressed only by the presence, at the Armenian capital of Dvin, of the Great King's viceroy or *marzpān* and by their fealty and military aid. For the rest, the Princes remained sovereign oligarchs of Armenia. With these events, the post-Arsacid period was ushered in to Caucasia.

Even though respecting the social and political *status quo* of their new dependency, the Iranian government attempted to Iranianize it culturally and even religiously. This provoked a number of insurrections, the most notable of which was that of 451, led by St. Vardan II, Prince of the Mamikonids, in which he and a number of lords suffered martyrdom for the faith. Out of these struggles was born a new solution, the institution of Presiding Princes, which both Iran and Rome resorted to, — an office which combined the functions of the High Constable, the commander-in-chief of the days of the Monarchy, with those of the imperial viceroy and which was filled by one of the local Princes.

Similar circumstances were to bring about, but some hundred and fifty years later, a similar development in Iberia, where the Mihranid (or, as it was called, Chosroid) Monarchy was, on the demand of the Princes, abolished by the Great King Hormizd IV in 580. In Albania, too, the Monarchy had already fallen at the end of the fifth century. The institution of Presiding Princes was thus the unitive socio-political element that guided the destinies of the Caucasian nations in the post-Arsacid period, while the empires kept struggling on, each attempting to spread its power to the other's sphere of influence. With the advent of Islam and the Caliph's succeeding the Great King as overlord of the greater part of Christian Caucasia, the institution of the Principate continued indeed, but the post-Arsacid period, and in fact the formative centuries of Christian Caucasian history themselves, came to a conclusion.

4. Now, of the princely houses, especially those of Great Armenia, some belonged to both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period, while others did not. Hence, in considering them, the following division is to be observed: (1) those houses which existed in both periods, (2) those which existed in the

first period (and of course before), but not in the second, and (3) those which existed in the second, but not in the first period. The havoc wrought by history in Caucasian society, especially as the Arsacid Monarchy was foundering, tended to change rather considerably its composition. Numerous old races perished or passed out of the orbit of Great Armenia, while several offshoots of old houses appeared bearing new names. Keeping these distinctions in mind and combining the above Category 1 with either Category 2 or Category 3, we can arrive at the correct idea of the composition of the high nobility of Great Armenia at a given period. The sum total of all the known princely names does not, obviously, represent an historical reality.

The setting up of the Caliph's suzerainty in Christian Caucasus, in 653/4, ushering in the new, Arab, period, resulted in more struggle — the highest point of this intermittent strife was the insurrection of the Armenian Princes against the Abbasid Caliphate in the years 771-772 which ended in the terrible defeat in the battle of Bagraundene of 25 April 772 — and, consequently, in more change. Not only did many races disappear or emigrate, but many others became weakened and dispossessed and even obliged to become vassals of some few which had retained their position and in fact enhanced it. The Arab period, accordingly, saw the rise of a new differentiation, one between the greater princes who alone bore the title of *išxan* — three of them ultimately reaching the royal status — and their vassals, the lesser princes, to whom was applied the title of *naxarar*. Then came, in the eleventh century, the ruthless destruction by the Byzantines and the Seljuqs of what remained of the polity and society of Great Armenia, of the several politically weakish, but culturally flourishing, kingdoms into which that country had become divided. This definitively dispersed and decimated the Armenian noble class. With the formation, in that century, of Armenia-in-Exile, in Cilicia, and with the increased migration of the aristocracy to both Georgia and Byzantium, the remnants of the Armenian social order vanished, after the Mongol invasions, from the Armenian soil.⁶

5. The only kind of feudal subordination of some princes to others prior to the Arab period was implied in the institution of the Vitaxates, or the four viceregal margraviates of Great Armenia. Their rulers, the Vitaxae, were indeed the greatest among the Princes, in three out of these four cases, they were themselves dynasts, their States forming the nucleus of each Vitaxate; and they were hereditarily invested with margravian powers. But the Vitaxate was essentially a feudal, rather than dynastic, institution, which

⁶ In addition to the bibliography in *Introd.* I 7 n. 1: (again) Adontz, *Armenija*; Grousset, *Histoire*; and K. V. Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoj Albanii, IV v. do n.é. - VII v. n.é* (Moscow/Leningrad 1959); Laurent, *Arménie*.

was composed of a number of dynastic States, including the Vitaxa's own, that were bound together by a feudal kind of dependence upon him. It is important to distinguish, when dealing with these margravian viceroalties, not only between the two concentric and homonymous, but unequal unities: the nucleus and the march, but also, occasionally, between three such unities: the nucleal principedom, the province where other princely States might exist side by side with and in dependence on it, and the viceroyalty which might on occasion outspread the province.

Being different in nature from the rest of the princely States, the four Vitaxates will be examined first. All of them belonged only to the Arsacid (as well as the earlier, Artaxiad) period of Armenian history. The institution of the Vitaxates is connected with the imperial expansion of the Second Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads, and in particular of the most celebrated Artaxiad monarch, Tigranes II the Great (95-56 B.C.). This empire-building effort entailed the conquest or subdual of several neighboring kingdoms: Iberia, Albania, Media-Atropatene, Adiabene, Gordyene, Mygdonia, Osroene, Commagene, and Sophene; or at least the annexation of some of their territories. So as to protect these conquests, and the imperial nucleus itself, the Artaxiads set up four border viceroalties composed of some newly-acquired regions.

The terminology of this office has been varied. Plutarch, having mentioned *βασιλεῖς δε πολλοί* paying court to Tigranes the Great, refers in particular to four among them who remained in constant attendance on him. That this reference must be to the four Vitaxae, has already been considered.⁷ Sallust, it would seem, referred to them as tetrarchs.⁸ The Armenian term is *bdešx* or *bdeš* and its earliest appearance is in the documents of the Gregorian cycle as well as in Faustus.⁹ The Greek documents of the Gregorian cycle render it as *κομητατήσιος* (= *comitatensis*), or *ὁ τῆς κομητατησίας*, and as *πιτιάξης*.¹⁰ The Armenian Agathangelus uses also the descriptive word *sahmanakal*, which in the corresponding passage of the Greek Agathangelus is rendered as *τοποκράτωρ*.¹¹ The Georgian term *pitiaxš* or *patiaxš*

⁷ *Lucullus* 21.5, cf. 21.2. For the unfavorable attitude of the Greco-Roman authors towards Tigranes II, reflected in this passage of Plutarch, see *Introd.* I 31 n. 54. See, also, *ibid.* 31-32, 68-69.

⁸ *Hist., fragm.* 4.8; cf. Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 175.

⁹ Arm. Agath. 112/795, 126/873; Faustus 3.9, 12; 4.19, 50; 5.16; cf. also Lazarus cap. 33.

¹⁰ Gk. Agath. 136; Gk. Life of St. Gregory 98 (72); cf. Arab. Life 86 (72: *byθqs*). — Not having Lagarde's edition of the Gk. Agath. at hand, I follow here the text of Stillingh's *Acta Sanctorum*, as reproduced by Langlois in *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie* I (Paris 1867) 109-193, which for the purposes of this study is quite adequate.

¹¹ Arm. Agath. 126/873; Gk. Agath. 165.

is first registered in the Pehlevi, Aramaic ('Armazic'), and Greek renderings in the Armazi inscriptions, as *bḥšy*, *pyḥš*, *bḥš*, *bity'hš*, and *πυτιάξης*.¹²

No etymology of these Armeno-Georgian terms is absolutely certain. The most likely one is their derivation from the Old Persian **pa[i]ti-axši/a*, the first element of which signifies 'head' and the second is related to *xšayami* ('I rule'), *xšāyathiya* ('king'), the Sogdian *axšāvan/xšēvan* ('king'), and the Armenian *išxan* ('prince'); this combination is thus a parallel one to the Modern Persian term *pādšāh*.¹³ Other origins, however, have been proposed for them: Karst deduced them from the Sumerian *patesi*¹⁴; Lap'anc'yan, from the Hittite *peda* ('place') and *ḥaššu* ('king'), or the Luvian element *-aḥš*.¹⁵ Whatever the origin of these terms, their variants, besides those already given, include the Pehlevi *bītāxš*, the Syriac *aptahšā*, the Greek *πυτιάξης*, *πητιάξης*, *βιτιάξης*, and the latter's Latin derivative *vitaxa*.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the Georgian form is closer to the Old Persian than is the Armenian.¹⁷ The disinclination to show preference to any of the several Caucasian variants of the word is responsible for my choosing the single Latin rendering of it — 'vitaxa.'

Few things have suffered more from the incomprehension of scholars than the office of vitaxa. In treating of it, as it existed in Great Armenia, a clear distinction should be made between the provenance of the terms used to designate it and the provenance of the office itself. There is, accordingly, no reason to presume that the Armenian office was borrowed from Parthia or from the Sassanid State, merely because the terms *bdeašx* and *patiaxš* may have been derived from **pa[i]ti-axši/a* and are related to *bītāxš*. Yet this is precisely what is often done.¹⁸ The institution of super-governors or viceroys, placed in command of several governors, existed before the Parthian Arsacids, for we find it in the empire of the Achaemenids (*bēvarāpaitiš* or toparch),¹⁹ and was not restricted to Iran, for it was introduced into that of the Seleucids.²⁰ That the Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads, which borrowed from the latter the office of strategus,²¹ should likewise have borrowed

¹² Cf. Ceret'eli, *Ėpigr. naxodki* 50-55; for the Armazi inscriptions, see *Introd.* I 95.

¹³ Markwart, *Ėranšāhr* 178-179; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 155-156.

¹⁴ *Corpus juris ibero-caucasici* I/2/2/492.

¹⁵ *O dvux social'no-političeskix terminax bližnego Vostoka (Istor.-lingv. Raboty)* 467-470, cf. *Obščie elementy meždu Xeltskim i Armjanskim jazykami (ibid.)* 392.

¹⁶ Markwart, *Ėranšāhr* 178-179; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 155-156; Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 102 n. 1.

¹⁷ Markwart, *Ėranšāhr* 178; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 155.

¹⁸ E. g. by Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 22-23.

¹⁹ Ehtéham, *Iran Achém.* 70-71, 114, 184.

²⁰ Bengtson, *Strategie* II 78-142.

²¹ *Introd.* I 32-33.

from it the office of 'viceroy,' is hardly unexpected; and in fact it is precisely under the Artaxiads that the 'four kings' make their appearance.²² In the Arsacid period of Armenia, the newly-risen national literary monuments testify to the continued existence of the four viceroys, whom they entitle *vitaxae*²³ and to whom the royal title was occasionally applied.²⁴ In Great Armenia, these viceroys became, to repeat, margravia in character, the territories committed to their care being the four marches of the realm.²⁵ Agathangelus indeed explains the term *bdeašx* by the purely Armenian word *sahmanakal* or 'ruler of the frontier,' that is, 'margrave,' 'marcher.'²⁶ Moreover, exactly as the purely administrative office of strategus acquired, when transplanted on the dynastic soil of Caucasia, as *naxarar*, a purely feudal character that it signally lacked in the neighboring empires, so also the administrative function of super-governor, borrowed from the same empires, became, on that soil, the feudal office of *bdeašx-patixš*.²⁷

What the original designation of the Armenian *vitaxae* was, we do not know. While contemporary Classical writers call them, as has been noted, kings and tetrarchs, the term 'vitaxa' is applied to them, in its various local variants, only in the national literary monuments, mostly in the Christian phase. The term at all events appears — *pace* Karst and Lap'anc'yan — to be indeed of Iranian origin; and it may well have been borrowed, subsequently to the institution of the office itself, from Iranian Society. In exactly the same way, the Artaxiad strategus came subsequently to be designated by the Iranoid term *naxarar*.²⁸ The latter term was adopted in the Pathian phase of Caucasian history, which separated in the first three centuries after Christ the Hellenistic from the Christian phase.²⁹ It was then that the Armenian Arsacids imitated the service mechanism of their cousins' Parthian empire. It would, accordingly, be natural to presume that the Iranian term for the vitaxa was likewise borrowed from Parthia in that epoch. There are, however, two facts that militate against this conjecture. First, there is no indication that either the office or the corresponding term existed in the Parthian State of the Arsacids. It is only under the early Sassanids that the presence of *vitaxae* in the polity is recorded.³⁰ One of the sources is the Paikuli

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Supra* nn. 9-10.

²⁴ Faustus 5.16 (216: chapter heading).

²⁵ *Introd.* I 74-75.

²⁶ Arm. Agath. 126/873 (440); cf. Markwart, *Eranšāhr* 165 etc. (*Markhüter*).

²⁷ Cf. *Introd.* I 63 n. 140, 85, 33, 68.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 63 n. 140.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 26, 58.

³⁰ Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 22-23, 137.

inscription of A.D. 293/294;³¹ another, the text of Ammianus Marcellinus: 'sunt autem in omni Perside hae regiones maximae, quas vitaxae id est magistri militum curant, et reges et satrapae...' ³² It has been suggested that only one of the eighteen provinces enumerated in this text — Assyria — was under a vitaxa, the rest being under dynasts (*reges*) or governors (*satrapae*).³³ Secondly, while the Armenian *bdeašx* and the Pehlevi *bītāxš* are indeed close to each other and represent a later derivation from the (presumable) Old Persian prototype, the Georgian *patiaxš/pitiaxš* is close to that prototype itself, and thus evidently pre-Parthian. We are faced, accordingly, with two alternatives: either the term that was known in Caucasia (Armenia and Iberia) from pre-Parthian times, as a direct derivative from the Old Persian, was subsequently, and only in Armenia, made to approximate to the contemporary Iranian usage, this being the early Sassanian or, the lack of documentary evidence notwithstanding, indeed Arsacid Parthian usage; else the Pehlevi *bītāxš*, whether it be regarded as early-Sassanian or late-Arsacid, was borrowed from Armenia, where *bdeašx* may have evolved locally from the prototypal Old Persian.³⁴ At all events, the more likely conjecture is that the basic terminology of the office, no less than the office itself, of the Caucasian Vitaxae originated under Achaemenian and Seleucid influences and independently of any influence from the Arsacid or the Sassanid polity. Accordingly, save for the relative identity of the terminology, the similarity of functions, and the probable community of provenance, there does not appear to have existed any direct connexion between the Caucasian and the Iranian vitaxae. The distinction between these two parallel institutions has not, however, been always appreciated by specialists.³⁵

³¹ Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 96-97, 100-101, and, for the dating, 194, 205.

³² 23.6.14.

³³ Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 172. The text, at all events, does not admit of the equation 'vitaxa = satrap,' as found in Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 137 n. 1, though not on p. 137 itself. Ammianus' interpretation of 'vitaxa' as *magister militum* is highly approximative. It is to be noted in passing that much in Iranian social history of the Arsacid and (especially early) Sassanian periods remains unclear. Thus, e.g., the correlation of the offices of vitaxa, *marzpān*, and the four toparchs of Chosroes I still needs further elucidation; cf. Christensen 102, 265-266, 370-371. It is, therefore, to say the least rash to translate, with R. Coulborn, the ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΩΝ of the Great King Mithradates I's Bisutūn inscription (for which, see, e.g., Debevoise, *Parthia* 44) as 'marzban of marzbans' *Comp. Study of Feud.* 332.

³⁴ Cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 156; A. Meillet, in *Revue des études arméniennes* 5 (1925) 185-186; cf. *infra* § 6 at n. 49.

³⁵ So Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 271-273, 277, 284-285, who would see in one of the Vitaxae, the Iberian, an Iranian appointee (which is quite different from the fact that this hereditary Vitaxa of Great Armenia may, together with other princes, have accepted the immediate suzerainty of the Great King); this is repeated in Berjēnišvili *et al.*, *Ist. Gruzii* I 101, 109;

The basic text for the four Caucasian Vitaxae is found in the Agathangelus recension of the story of the conversion of Armenia by St. Gregory the Illuminator. It is the second (List B) of the two lists of princes, giving the names of those who accompanied King Tiridates the Great on his trip to Rome. This list is found in both the Armenian and the Greek Agathangelus, but is not given in the other recension of the Gregorian cycle, the Life of St. Gregory, in either its Greek or its Arabic version.³⁶ The following are the Armenian and the Greek version of List B:

Arm. Agath. 126/873

Եւ ի զինուորական կողմանէն՝ զչորեալին գահերէցսն իւրոյ տաճարին, որ բռեաշխքն կոչին. զառաջին սահմանակալն ի Նոր Շիրական կողմանէն, և զերկրորդ սահմանակալն յԱռաւստանեայց կողմանէն, և զերրորդն՝ յԱրուստան կողմանէն, զչորրորդն՝ ի Մաաբլժայ կողմանէն.³⁷

Gk Agath. 165

... ὁ βασιλεὺς ... παραλαμβάνει ... τοὺς τέσσαρας τιμιωτάτους τοῦ ἰδίου παλατίου, τὸν πρῶτον τοποκράτορα ἀπὸ Νορσιρέων μερῶν, τὸν δεύτερον τοποκράτορα ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας μερῶν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρουαστῶν μερῶν, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον ἀπὸ τῶν Μασαχοῦ τῶν Οὔνων μερῶν ...

The first list of princes (List A), found in all the documents of the Gregorian cycle, contains some sixteen names. They belonged to the Princes who,

Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 50, 78, 155, 229-230, 245, goes further still adding to this confusion another one: the Vitaxa Pāpak of the Paikuli inscription is considered at once (a) a Sassanid prince, (b) a vitaxa of the Iberian March, and (c) a King of Iberia. — The rehabilitation of the documents of the Gregorian cycle and the discovery of the Armazi inscriptions make superfluous Adontz's arguments against any suggestion that the Vitaxae of Great Armenia may have been modelled on the Sassanian toparchs. Adontz went too far when he insisted that the Vitaxae had been small kings that had fallen under the suzerainty of the Armenian Crown and that they had had nothing to do with any appointment on its part or any guardianship of frontiers: *Armenija* 283, 410-411, 416. It is curious that in so doing he failed even to refer to Markwart's great Excursus in *Ēranšāhr*, which definitively shows that the guardianship of the frontiers was precisely the *raison d'être* of the Vitaxates. As for their being small kings, all Caucasian dynasts could in a sense be so regarded. cf. *Introd.* I.

³⁶ For the documents of the Gregorian cycle, see Garitte, *Documents*; cf. my review of this work, in *Traditio* 5 (1947) 373-383.

³⁷ '[The King took along] also from the military confines the four pre-eminent lords of his Court, called vitaxae: the first — the margrave of the region of New Siracene; and the second — the margrave of the region of Assyria; the third — of the region of Arabia; the fourth — of the region of the *Mask'it'k'*' (on this term, see *infra* n. 148). For 'pre-eminent lords,' see *infra* n. 41.

according to the Agathangelus recension, were going on a mission to Caesarea, or who, according to Life of St. Gregory, took part in a council convoked by King Tiridates.³⁸ This list mentions only two Vitaxae: of Arzanene and of Gogarene. Accordingly, the Armenian Agathangelus has: *իշխանն Աղձնեաց, որ է բղեաշին մեծ ... իշխանն Գուգարացաց աշխարհին, որ միւս անուանեալ բղեաշին*;³⁹ the Greek Agathangelus: *ἀρχων Ἀλσενῶν, ὁ τῆς κομητατησίας. ... ὁ ἕτερος κομητατήσιος*; the Greek Life of St. Gregory: *τῆς Ἀρζιανηνῆς πιτιάξης ὁ μέγας ... ἡγεμὼν τῶν Γουγαρῶν χῶρας, ὅστις εἶχεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀξίαν πιτιάξου*; and the Arabic Life: 'princeps 'rṭnṯj nomine byṯqs magnus... princeps regionis ḡurḡr.'⁴⁰ Finally Faustus speaks of the four Vitaxae: *... մի ի ծառայից նորա մեծ իշխանն Աղձնեաց, որ անուանեալ կոչէր բղեաշին : որ էր մի ի չորից, Գահերէց բարձերէց տաճարին արքունի*.⁴¹ Throughout his work (especially in 4.50), Faustus mentions specifically only three: those of Arzanene, Gogarene and Adiabene, omitting that of the Syrian March. As will be seen, the four Vitaxates, mentioned in the above passages under varying names, were: the Median March, or Adiabene; the Syrian March, or Sophene; the Arabian March, or Arzanene; and the Moschich, that is, Iberian March, or Gogarene. Apart from the purely practical reasons for the formation of these four Vitaxates, their number, like that of the toparchies of Iran, was no doubt also a manifestation of the cosmocratic claims inherent in the theophanic monarchy of Armenia, the four limitrophe points symbolizing the 'Four Corners of the World.'⁴²

³⁸ Arm. Agath. 112/795; Gk. Agath. 136; Gk. Life 98; Arab. Life 86. — Garitte, *Documents* 311-312, 315: the Agath. recension places the list in the correct context.

³⁹ 'The Prince of Arzanene, who is the Great Vitaxa ... the Prince of the country of Gogarene, who is called the Other Vitaxa.'

⁴⁰ Garitte's Latin translation: *Documents* 72-73.

⁴¹ 3.9: 'one of his [*scil.* the King's] vassals, the great Prince of Arzanene, who was named vitaxa [and] who was one of the four pre-eminent lords of the royal Court.' 'Pre-eminent lords' translates here *gaherēc' barjerēc'* (and *supra* n. 37 *gaherēc'* alone). In these terms, *gah* = 'throne' and *barj* = 'cushion,' both signifying, 'place' or 'grade,' and *erēc'* = = *πρεσβύτερος*, thus: 'senior in grade, or in position.'

⁴² The cosmocratic claims of the Caucasian monarchs were, like those everywhere, a corollary of their theophany, for which see *Introd.* I 10, 15, 31, 50 and notes. When confronted with the reality of several neighboring theophanic world-claiming microcosms, as was the case in the ancient East Mediterranean world, these claims must acquire a certain ambivalence: the whole world is interpreted as coextensive with one particular microcosm, which alone is held to be attuned to the cosmos, i.e., theophanic. Thus, the 'Four Corners of the World' become the four cardinal points of a particular ethno-cultural unit. The Kings of Urartu, of Armenia, and of Georgia claimed, successively, the whole of Caucasia, which was their particular theophanic segment of the world. — In spite of all the indications regarding the number of the Vitaxae, doubts have been expressed about it by Adontz and Markwart. Adontz, *Armenija* 416, writing long before Garitte's rehabilitation of the

6. The Vitaxa of New Siracene (Nor Shirakan) is mentioned as first in List B in Agathangelus. The march over which he ruled was made of the Artaxiad acquisitions in the Kingdom of Adiabene, or at least of the Armenian lands bordering on it, as well as of the lands wrested by the Artaxiads from, or the Armenian territories marching upon, the Median kingdom of Atropatene; and it served as a bulwark of the Armenian Monarchy against, precisely, the latter State.⁴³ The region of New Siracene, within that Vitaxate, designated, as Adontz has suggested, the Adiabenian territories;⁴⁴ hence we may translate the Vitaxa's title as 'of Adiabene.' This particular region is mentioned in the *Primary History of Armenia*⁴⁵ and in the Agathangelus recension of the Gregorian cycle.⁴⁶ The origin of this name is something of a mystery. Another toponym, 'Nihorakan,' connected with the Vitaxate in Faustus,⁴⁷ stood, according to Adontz, for the Median territories.⁴⁸ In

documents of the Gregorian cycle, was distrustful of their evidence. As for Markwart in *Ēranšāhr* 109, he hesitated between three or four Vitaxae, but in one of his last works, 'Die Genealogie der Bagratiden und das Zeitalter des Mar Abas und Ps. Moses Xorenac'i,' *Caucasica* 6/2 (1930) 23-34, he felt justified in admitting only two, Arzanene and Gogarene, and in rejecting the evidence to the contrary of both Agathangelus and Faustus as 'false.' This is entirely unwarranted. Something more than an off-hand rejection is surely needed to convince one that Faustus actually 'invented,' in 5.40, the story of the defection of the Vitaxa of Adiabene (*infra* n. 54). Unfortunately, the great Armenologist's *Genealogie* displays far too often this rather cavalier attitude to historical material; cf. my *Orontids* II; *infra* n. 43.

⁴³ Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 176, 178; *Südarmerien* 59*, 120, 378; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 229. One of the reasons why Markwart, in *Genealogie* 24, refused to accept the existence of the Vitaxa of Adiabene was that 'nur unter Tigranes d. Gr. war auch der König von Adiabene ein Vasall des Königs der Könige von Armenien.' This is evidently due to a confusion between (a) the non-Armenian kingdom of Adiabene, which, having been briefly included in the empire of Tigranes the Great, had ceased to exist long before the time of Agathangelus and Faustus, and (b) some Adiabenian, or merely border, territory that was held by the Armenian Crown and, together with some Median border territory, formed a march of Great Armenia. This confusion involves another, verbal one: between (a) Adiabene in the broad sense of the kingdom and (b) Adiabene in the narrow sense of the march (= Nor Širakan). Caucasian historical geography presents numerous instances of such toponymical ambivalence; cf., e.g., the one-time vassal kingdom of Gordyene and the Armenian province of Gordyene or Korčēk': Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 245-259, 333-337. It is indeed odd that, in the face of the clear witness of both Agathangelus and Faustus, Markwart should at first have hesitated to admit that the viceroy of this march bore the title of vitaxa and should subsequently have refused to admit the very existence of such a viceroy.

⁴⁴ *Armenija* 228-229.

⁴⁵ *Prim. Hist.* 14.

⁴⁶ Arm. Agath. 120/842; Gk. Agath. 153 (Νοσιράων [rectius Νοσιράκων] γῆς).

⁴⁷ *Infra* n. 54.

⁴⁸ *Armenija* 228-229. These must have included the province of Persarmenia (Parskahayk'), in which lay the princedoms of the Orontid branch of Zarehawan and Her [§ 13.23] and for which see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 259-261.

spite of the composite nature of this margraviate, both Agathangelus and Faustus speak of the 'Vitaxa of New Siracene' only, and, in the latter source, Nihorakan appears as a mere dependency. It thus seems evident that 'New Siracene = Adiabene' was the official title of the viceroyalty that guarded the Armenian State not, however, so much against Adiabene as against Media-Atropatene.

While, after the collapse of Tigranes the Great's empire, Media soon ended by being absorbed by Iran, Adiabene was in 115, together with some other lands and under the name of Assyria, reduced by Trajan to a province of Rome. Assyria, however, was subsequently ceded by Hadrian to the Great King.⁴⁹ It was this province that Ammianus Marcellinus knew under the government of an Iranian vitaxa. Whatever the Armeno-Iranian interconnection may be presumed in the development of the terms *bdeašx* and *bītāxš*, it is back to this adjacency of the Armenian Vitaxate of New Siracene and the Iranian vitaxate of Assyria, both successors to the Kingdom of Adiabene, that is must unquestionably be traced.

Markwart has suggested that the Vitaxate of Adiabene was vested in the recently dispossessed Orontid dynasty of Sophene, more particularly its Artsruni branch [§ 12.8].⁵⁰ Indeed, some Orontid branches, doubtless those nearest to the last Sophenian kings, were transplanted by the Kings of Armenia from Sophene, which seems to have shown signs of insubordination, to the Median frontier of their realm.⁵¹ The low place assigned to so great a house as that of Artsruni in List A of Agathangelus, and in Faustus, may be explained, precisely, by its being invested with the Vitaxate, so that the 'Artsruni' of the list may have designated only a cadet, the ruler of a secundo-geniture.⁵² It may be more than a coincidence, too, that the name of Artsruni comes to a sudden prominence on the later pages of Faustus⁵³ im-

⁴⁹ Cf. Magie, *Roman Rule* 608-610; Debevoise, *Parthia* 230-231; Markwart, *Genealogie* 32-33.

⁵⁰ *Ēranšāhr* 165, 176, 178; cf. my *Orontids* I 35. For Markwart, to be sure, it is question of the 'House of Sophene' and not of the Orontids.

⁵¹ Whereas Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 176-177, assigns the transplanting of various members of the former royal house of Sophene to the Median frontier to the reign of Tigranes the Great, Adontz would place this event in the Arsacid period: *Armenija* 415 n 1. For the reason of his tendency to ascribe Artaxiad events to the Arsacid period, see *Introd.* I 58. — The practice of conquering States to employ members of dynasties whose countries they annexed in viceregal positions elsewhere is a perennial one. As recently as in the reign of the last Emperor of Russia, Prince Alexander of Imeretia, descendant of the Bagratid kings of Imeretia, dispossessed by Russia in 1810, was Governor General of Warsaw and Commander of the Warsaw military circumscription (1897-1900).

⁵² Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 176.

⁵³ 4.58, 59: with Meružan (= *Μιθροβουζάνης* cf. *Orontids* I 20-21, 27-28).

mediately after the defection of Adiabene from the Armenian Monarchy. Indeed, it is only in connection with this passing from Armenian to Iranian suzerainty, following the Roman defeat of 363, that the Vitaxa of Adiabene is mentioned in Faustus.⁵⁴ This was a moment of detachment from the Armenian Crown of a number of limitrophe princedoms and territories, including also the Vitaxates of Arzanene and of Cogarene.⁵⁵ Armenian control was reimposed, in connection with the Emperor Valens' counter-offensive in Caucasia in 371, upon all these regions; but following the Romano-Iranian partition of Caucasia of 387 they once again, and definitively, escaped Armenian suzerainty.⁵⁶ By the sixth century, when we hear of it again, New Siracene, which must have lost its line of rulers already in 363, appears as a purely East Syrian territory, subject to the ecclesiastical control of the Metropolitan of Ninive⁵⁷ and, of course, to the political control of the Great King.

Among the regions comprised in the Vitaxate of Adiabene, Faustus mentions Mahkert-tun, Dassntrē, and Nihorakan.⁵⁸ The first-named land was a principality, mentioned in Agathangelus, which disappears from history at an early date.⁵⁹

7. The second Vitaxa on List B of Agathangelus is the 'Margrave of the region of Assyria (*Asorestaneayc*).' This 'Assyrian' March Markwart has shown to have been in reality the *Syrian* March, that is, the bulwark of the Armenian Monarchy against the Seleucid Realm and Osrhoene, and to have

⁵⁴ 4.50: Բայց նախ այսմ գնալոյ սկիզբն առնէին մեծամեծ աւագանին: Նախ բղեաշին Աղձնեաց, և Նո[ր]շիրական բղեաշին, և Մահկերտ[տ]անն, և Նիհորականն. և Դասսընտրէին և ամենայն նախարարութ Սղձնեաց ('But to this defection the grantees were the first to give rise: in the first place, the Vitaxa of Arzanene and the Vitaxa of New Siracene, and Mahkert-tun, and Nihorakan, and Dassntrē, and the entire princely feudality of Arzanene').

⁵⁵ Faustus 4.50 (*supra* n. 54, for Arzanene; *infra* § 11, for Gogarene); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 225.

⁵⁶ For the recovery under King Pap: Faustus 5.9-19. While in 5.15 and 16 Faustus speaks of the Vitaxae of Gogarene and Arzanene, respectively, in connection with the Armenian attempt at reconquest, in 5.9 he speaks only of the land and of the inhabitants of New Siracene. This would imply that the Vitaxae of the Median March had not survived their defection. — For an analysis of the historical events between 363 and 387, see Trever, *Očerki po ist. Albanii* 198-201; Adontz, *Armenija* 225-226.

⁵⁷ *Bk. Lett.* 41: քրիստոնեայ նորշիրականին ինիսուէ նահանգ.

⁵⁸ 5.40 (*supra* n. 54). — For the Median March, see also Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 23-24, 109, 165-166, 169-171, 176, 178; *Südarmerien* 378-379; Adontz, *Armenija* 225-229; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 319-321. Mahkert-tun = Syr. Bēθ-Māhqert, Dassntrē = Syr. Bēθ-Dāsen.

⁵⁹ Arm. Agath. 120/842 (*tambn Mahk'er[t]-tan išxanin*); Gk. Agath. 153 (τοῦ οἰκον Μαχουερτῶν τοῦ ἀρχοντος). Agathangelus and Faustus differ in spelling this name (-k' or -k-); both omit the extra *t*. See for this princedom Markwart, *Südarmerien* 378-379, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 320.

been formed from the Kingdom of Sophene absorbed by the Artaxiads.⁶⁰ This territory was subsequently several times detached by Rome from Great Armenia. Following the defeat of Tigranes the Great in 66 B. C., Pompey gave Sophene, first, to the defeated King's son, Tigranes the Younger, and, then, to Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia. In A.D. 54, the Romans installed the Emesan prince Sohaemus as King of Sophene. Finally, under Hadrian, Sophene appears to have been placed, together with (a part of) Gordyene, under the Roman governor of Cappadocia.⁶¹ Thereafter, however, the Sophenian lands reverted to the Armenian Crown; but, by the treaty of Nisibis of 298, they once again, and this time definitively, passed under the control of the Empire.⁶²

By the year 298, the former Kingdom of Sophene — the Syrian March — appeared divided into four princely States.⁶³ Situated south of the Arsianias, they were, going from west to east, from the Euphrates to the Nymphius (a tributary of the Tigris): Lesser Sophene, Anzitene or Anzetene, Ingilene, and Greater Sophene or Sopianene; the dynasties of the last three States were Orontid branches,⁶⁴ very likely cadet ramifications of the House of

⁶⁰ *Ēranšāhr* 171-172, 177-178. — For the confusion between 'Syrian' and 'Assyrian' in this connection, see my *Orontids* I 25-27.

⁶¹ Cf. Magie, *Roman Rule* 357-358, 375, 554, 1238; Debevoise, *Parthia* 73, 179; Markwart, *Südarmerien* 29*-30*, 117-119; *Ēranšāhr* 177-178; *Genealogie* 32; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 215-218.

⁶² Cf. Asdourian, *Arm. u. Rom* 136-137; Adontz, *Armenija* 42-44; Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 181; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 219.

⁶³ Petrus Patricius, fr. 14 (Dindorf, *Hist. gr. min.* I) mentions the passing under Roman control of Ingilene with Sophene, and (in the neighboring march) of Arzanene with Corduene and Zabdicene. But his list is incomplete; and Ammianus Marcellinus, 25.7.9, enumerates the following regions retroceded by Rome to Iran in 363: Arzanene, Moxoene, Zabdicene, Rehimene, and Corduene. Accordingly, Petrus failed to mention, in this other margraviate Moxoene and Rehimene, the first of these being a dependency of Arzanene and the second of Zabdicene: Adontz, *Armenija* 42-43. In precisely the same way he appears to have dropped from his list Lesser Sophene and Anzitene. The latter was a dependency of Ingilene, and the two Sophenes could be easily confused. Hübschmann supposes that by 'Sophene' Petrus meant precisely the Lesser, whereas the Greater he counted with Ingilene: *Ortsnamen* 219 n. 4. At all events, both Anzitene and Lesser Sophene were known to Ptolemy, 5.12. 6, 8; cf. Adontz 32, 38.

⁶⁴ Adontz, *Armenija* 28-45; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 223-233, 294-305, 399; H. Gelzer, *Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis romani* (Leipzig 1890) 49 n. 959, 177-180; Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 165-167, 170-172, 175-177; *Südarmerien* 41*, 50*, 65*, 20, 35-41, 49-50, 54, 67-75, 91-119, 552-553; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae byzantinae 3; 1935) 4-5, 8-9, 16, 90-92, maps I, II, IV; Garitte, *Documents* 199, 215-216, 234; Weisbach, s. v. 'Sophene', RE 3 A/1.1015-1019. Lesser Sophene was also known as 'Other Sophene' and, in connection with the surname of its ruling house, 'Šahian Sophene' = μικρὴ Τζοφενή (sic: Gk. Life of S5. Gregory 171[102]), miws Cop'k' (Faustus 4.4[81]), Cop'k' šahēi or šahun[w]oc' (Faustus 3.9.[32]; 4.24[149]). Anzitene was Anjit

Sophene, and as such left by the Artaxiads undisturbed in their appanages on the territory of the former kingdom, while closer relatives of the last kings were transplanted elsewhere. But the dynasty of Lesser Sophene, bearing the surname of Shahuni, may have been of a different origin. Its name is traced by some back to the patronymic *šaḥ-uḥi*, borne in the eighth century B.C. by a Hittite prince (or dynasty) reigning precisely in the western part of the later Kingdom of Sophene (Şupa) and in Melitene. The House of Shahuni may, therefore, be presumed to have traced its descent, or at least derived its surname, from the Hittite house of Shaḥ-uḥi (the two names being in fact synonymous), and then to have imposed it upon the part of old Sophene where it reigned. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the dynasty received its name from the territory, which in turn had received its name from its one-time Hittite ruler (or rulers); in this case the Shahunis may well have been as Orontid as their neighbors in the Syrian March. If, moreover, the interpretation of the toponym 'Shahian Sophene' as 'Royal Sophene,' proposed by Markwart and Andreas, be accepted, the probability of the Orontid origin of this house must become very high.⁶⁵

The chief, eponymous, fortress of Ingilene, and apparently of the entire March, was Angl, seemingly the Ingalawa of the Hittite records and afterwards the holy city of the Orontids and capital, under the name of Carcathiocerta, of their Sopenian kingdom.⁶⁶ It appears in the Armenian sources as a royal fortress on princely territory — a manifestation of one of the feudal rights exercised by the Kings of Armenia with regard to their princely vassals.⁶⁷ As such it housed the royal treasures and the tombs of the ancient — Orontid — kings, and it was thus known as the Ostan.⁶⁸ Another important royal castle and treasure-house on princely territory was Bnabel, in Greater Sophene.⁶⁹ Both these castles, as well as several others, were in charge of the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia, the administration of these, the office of *ostikan*, being from of old conjoined with his own office.⁷⁰

The office of Grand Chamberlain or *hayr t'agawori* ('the King's Father')⁷¹

in Armenian; Ingilene, Angel-tun; and Greater Sophene, mec Cop'k'. — For the origin of the dynasties of these States, see my *Orontids* I 25-27, 31-35.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 34 and nn. 112, 113.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 25-26.

⁶⁷ *Introd.* I 65.

⁶⁸ Faustus 4.24; 5.7 (*infra* at n. 117), 18. For *ostan*, signifying 'Court' or 'residence,' see *Introd.* I 62.

⁶⁹ Faustus 3.12; 5.7 (*infra* at n. 117); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 41-42; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 296 n. 1, 297 n. 3, 310.

⁷⁰ Faustus 5. 7 (*infra* at n. 117); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 42. For the term *ostikan*, see Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 215; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 128; Adontz *loc. cit.*

⁷¹ Faustus 5.6: զԳլակ [for the spelling of this name, see *infra* n. 118] մարդպետ, որ անուանեալ կոչէր ըստ գործոյն՝ հայր թագաւորին ('Glak the Mardpet [for this dignity see *infra* at n. 79], who for reason of his functions was called The King's Father').

was the equivalent of the Iranian office of *Ērān-ambārağad*,⁷² and Lazarus indeed refers to a holder of the latter office, Vēhdēn Shāhpuhr, as *senekapan ark'uni* ('royal chamberlain').⁷³ Like his Roman counterpart, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, rising at that time to great heights in the Imperial administrative system,⁷⁴ the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia was a eunuch.⁷⁵ In this respect the Court of Armenia was closer to that of the Emperor than to that of the Great King, for the Iranian office was not a monopoly of eunuchs; and the beautiful gem bearing the effigy of, precisely, Vēhdēn Shāhpuhr shows him in possession of well-trimmed whiskers.⁷⁶

The Grand Chamberlain was in charge of the King's treasures, fortresses, and wardrobe (where the regalia were kept).⁷⁷ His control of the wardrobe seems implicit in Faustus and suggested by the parallel of the Imperial Court. Being a eunuch, he must have been in charge of the royal apartments as well. Exactly as in the Empire, where several lesser officials were placed under the authority of the *praepositus*, such as the *primicerius sacri cubiculi*, the *cubicularii*, etc., so also at the Court of Armenia, besides the *hayr*, there were the ordinary chamberlains or *senekapetk'*.⁷⁸

The office of Grand Chamberlain was, moreover, conjoined with the dignity of *mardpet*,⁷⁹ so that the terms *hayruṭ'iw*n (Grand Chamberlainship) and *mardpetuṭ'iw*n (Mardpet-dom) became synonymous.⁸⁰ The dignity in question was originally a gentilitial title which denoted the dynastic princes of the tribe of the Mardians. These represented a Caspio-Median or Ma(n)tianian-Mannaeen enclave in Armenia, south of the Araxes and east of lake Van, with Mardastan, on the eastern shore of that lake, as their territory and as the nucleus of Mardpetakan, or the generality of the Mardpets' dominions that stretched from Van to Atropatene.⁸¹ The Greek Life of St. Gregory

⁷² Adontz, *Armenija* 448-449; for the Iranian office, Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 107-108, 215.

⁷³ Lazarus 34 (136). For the personage in question, see Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 288.

⁷⁴ Cf. J. Dunlap, *The Office of Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series 14; New York 1924); L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1949) 96-98; W. Ensslin, s. v. 'Praepositus sacri cubiculi, RE Suppl. 8.556-557.

⁷⁵ Faustus 4.14; 5.7 (*infra* at n. 117).

⁷⁶ This gem is reproduced in Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 79 (fig. 36); Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 288. It is in the British Museum, No. 12 ⁶³³/₁.

⁷⁷ Faustus 5.6, 7.

⁷⁸ Cf., e. g., Faustus 3.20 (60); 4.3 (78).

⁷⁹ Faustus 4.14 (*mardpet-hayr*); 5.6, 7 (*supra* n. 71; *infra* n. 117).

⁸⁰ Thus, while the Arm. Agath. 112/795 (403-404) refers to the *iṣxann mardpetuṭ'ean* ('prince of the principedom of Mardpet-dom'), the Gk. Agath. 136 calls him ἀρχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας Πατρικίως [= *hayr*] λεγόμενος; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 448.

⁸¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 319, 416-417, 448; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 343-344, 451; Markwart, *Eranšahr* 166-167; *Genealogie* 25-32; Garitte, *Documents* 224, 225; Weissbach, s. v. *Μάρδοι*,

refers to the Mardpet of the time as *τῶν Μέρδων τοπάρχης*.⁸² Quite obviously, any identification of the series of eunuchs invested with a high Court function and bearing the title of *mardpet* with the dynasty of the Princes of the Mardians is difficult to accept. A dynasty of eunuchs is a contradiction in terms, not only physiologically, but, even if an avuncular succession, as in the case of the Nestorian Patriarchs or the Greek Orthodox Metropolitans of Montenegro, were conjectured, also — and especially — psychologically, as totally out of keeping with the ethos of a proud and warlike nobility.⁸³ Yet, strange to say, scholars have not been wanting who somehow saw no difficulty in accepting the possibility of such a eunuch dynasty.⁸⁴ Of course, the only explanation is that the dynastic Mardpets must have become extinct at an early date and that their principality, having become a Crown property, was subsequently made an appanage of the Grand Chamberlains, who thus continued to use the old dynastic title of their predecessors.⁸⁵ The office of Grand Chamberlain did not survive the Arsacid Monarchy; and in the fifth century the Mardpet-dom, now divorced from that office, passed to the House of Artsruni [§ 12.8].⁸⁶

While the royal control was exercised by the Grand Chamberlain over the chief strongholds of Ingilene and Greater Sophene, these two States continued to be ruled by their own dynasties. And although in 298, in the Peace of Nisibis, the Syrian March fell under the aegis of the Roman Empire, the princes of its four States continued to participate in the life of Great Armenia. Accordingly, the documents of the Gregorian cycle mention the Prince of Ingilene and Anzitene and the Prince of Sophene in the *entourage* of Tiridates

RE 14/2.1649. — Like the Houses of Amatuni [§ 12.4], Mandakuni [§ 12.19], and Murac'an [n. 270], the Mardpets ruled over a territorialized remnant on the Armenian soil of the Caspo-Medians: Adontz 303-304, 321, 418-419; Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 136, 140; cf. *Introd.* I 78 n. 190.

⁸² 98 (72).

⁸³ *Introd.* I 86-88.

⁸⁴ Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 319-320, 448-449, 490; Kherumian, *Féodalité* 16-17; cf. Markwart, *Genealogie* 25.

⁸⁵ This is indirectly by a text in Ps. Moses, 2.7, where the story just outlined appears allegorized as the reduction by the King of Armenia of some Haykids, i.e., dynasts (*Introd.* I 55 n. 120), to the status of eunuchs who were, then, placed under the *hayr* ruling what, as can be seen from the text, amounted to the territory of Mardpetakan, i. e., from Atropatene to Čuaš and Naxčawan; cf. Markwart, *Genealogie* 27. This allegory of Ps. Moses must undoubtedly have influenced the scholarly curiosities just alluded to.

⁸⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 319-321. Adontz, of course assumes that the Arcrunis succeeded to the dynasty of the *hayr-mardpetk'*! Markwart, on the other hand, is unaware of the fact that the Mardpets of the fifth century were already of the House of Arcruni: *Genealogie* 27.

the Great of Armenia;⁸⁷ while Faustus reveals the role played in Armenian affairs, under Tiridates' three immediate successors by the sovereigns of the two Sophenes and of Anzitene.⁸⁸ The fact that the Greek Life of St. Gregory in its version of List A shows Ingilene and Anzitene under one and the same prince; that the Agathangelus version of that list mentions this prince as of Ingilene only; and that, on the other hand, Faustus, as has just been noted, speaks of the Princes of Anzitene, and not of Ingilene,⁸⁹ may indicate the union of the two lands under one sovereign, who may have been, consequently, referred to by one or the other of his titles.⁹⁰ To this we shall return presently. This participation of the princes of the Syrian March in the life of Great Armenia after the Treaty of 298 can be explained by the close alliance of that country with the Roman Empire which was inaugurated by Tiridates III the Great.⁹¹ However, after the Treaty of 363, the connection of these princes with the Crown of Armenia must have been severed; and Faustus records the attempts, made in 371, to re-impose Armenian suzerainty over them. Nevertheless, these States remained severed from the Armenian Crown and within the orbit of the Empire; and in the latter half of the fifth century, the leaders of the Armenian insurrection against Iran appealed for aid to the Princes of Ingilene and of Sophene, along with the Emperor and the other princes detached from Armenia, as to foreign powers.⁹²

⁸⁷ Arm. Agath. 112/795 (403-404); 126/873 (440); Gk. Agath. 136, 165; Gk. Life of St. Gregory 98 (72-73).

⁸⁸ Among the Princes sent by Chosroes II of Armenia against the Vitaxa of Arzanene were: Mar, Prince of Greater Sophene and Nerseh, Prince of Šahian Sophene: 3.9. — At the accession of Tigranes VII are mentioned: the Great Seneschal of Armenia, Vajarš, Prince of Anzitene, Zareh, Prince of Greater Sophene, and Varaz Šahun, Prince of Sophene: 3.12. — Accompanying St. Nerses to Caesarea: Daniel, Prince of Greater Sophene: 4.4. — Abandoning Arsaces II in 363: Sałamut, Prince of Anzitene and the Prince of Greater Sophene: 4.50. — For the office of Seneschal (*hazarapet*), later vested in the Orontid house of Gnuni [§ 12.14] see *Introd.* I 80 and n. 195.

⁸⁹ For List A, see *supra* n. 38. Faustus, indeed, does mention a Prince of Ingilene, but in a different sense, as will be seen *infra* § 8.

⁹⁰ Thus, e. g., Faustus speaks of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan, Prince of Siracene and of Aršaruni' (3.11), of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan' *tout court* (3.16), of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan, *nahapet* (for this title, see *Introd.* I 62) of Aršaruni' (3.21), and of 'Aršawir, Prince of Siracene and Aršaruni' (4.4); Lazarus, on his part, speaks of another 'Aršawir Kamsarakan' (34), of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan, Lord of Aršaruni' (63), of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan, Prince of Aršaruni' (35), of 'Aršawir, Lord of Aršaruni' (23), of 'Aršawir, Prince of Aršaruni' (30), of 'Nerseh Kamsarakan [Aršawir's son], Lord of Siracene' (73), of 'Nerseh Kamsarakan, Prince of Siracene' (68).

⁹¹ Asdourian, *Arm. u. Rom* 127-157; Grousset, *Histoire* 113-143; Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 185.

⁹² Lazarus 33.

The princely houses of the former Syrian March continued to flourish in the Roman Empire as *civitates foederatae*: fully sovereign States under the Emperor's suzerainty. Their complete autonomy under Roman protection, their status of minor kings, and the regalia received by them from their imperial suzerain have already been examined.⁹³ About the year 377/8, or possibly in 387, two more dynasties, reigning in the northern part of the Arsianias valley and never included in that march, were added to their number.⁹⁴ One was that of the Princes of Asthianene, whose land had been an appanage of Arsacid cadets, and so undoubtedly themselves an Arsacid branch, bearing the surname of Kaminakan.⁹⁵ The other was that of the Princes of Balabitene or Belabitine, dynasts of the territorialized remnant of the Pala or Bala people of Hittite times.⁹⁶ Although Anzitene appears as constituting, by the mid-fifth century, a separate episcopal see, and though it always was ethnically distinct from its neighbors,⁹⁷ it must have continued to form one dynastic unit with Ingilene; this is clear from the fact that Procopius speaks of five, not six, trans-Euphratensian Armenian princes⁹⁸ and that Justinian I refers in his legal enactments once, indeed, to Anzitene and Ingilene, but at another time, echoing the usage of Faustus, to Anzitene alone.⁹⁹ This Pentarchy of vassal princes reigning in six principalities on the

⁹³ *Introd.* I 83-84.

⁹⁴ Adontz, *Armenija* 44-45; but, for the date, see also Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 289 n. 5 (= 290).

⁹⁵ Ps. Moses 2.8, 22, 62; 3.22, 31; and, for the surname, Faustus 3.7, 12. This house also figures in Lazarus 33 (134), among the now foreign princes to whom the Armenian insurgents appealed for aid in the mid-fifth century (cf. *supra* n. 92). — For Asthianene = Arm. Hašteank', see Adontz, *Armenija* 29-30, 42, 44-45; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 291-293; Baumgartner in *RE* 2.1789; Gelzer, *Georg. Cypr.* n. 464, p. 49, 182-183; Garitte, *Documents* 205.

⁹⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 29-30, 42, 44-45; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 294, 412; Լաբ'անց'յան *Xajasa* 127-132. Balabitene = Arm. Balahovit. — This house is not mentioned in any Armenian sources.

⁹⁷ Besides Gaiumas Inseles/Inreles = Ingeles there was, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, also Maras Azetiniensis: Mansi 7.403; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 39. For the ethnic separateness of Anzitene, see Adontz 31. As has been noted, *supra* n. 63, Anzitene is a separate land in Ptolemy. This, of course, in no way militates against its being dynastically united with Ingilene. Precisely in the same way two quite distinct lands, Tayk' and Tarawn were dynastically united under the Mamikonids, each, moreover, having its own bishop.

⁹⁸ *De aed.* 3.1.17: τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἥπερ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ οὕσα διήκει ἐς Ἀμιδαν πόλιν, σατράπαι ἐφειστήκεισαν Ἀρμένιοι πέντε ... Adontz offers an elaborate explanation for this (according to him) mistake in Procopius' calculation: *Armenija* 42-44. Actually, in view of the dynastic union of Ingilene and Anzitene, though one may indeed (with Adontz and as in *Introd.* I 75, 83), speak of the *six* princely States, one may only speak of the *five* princes.

⁹⁹ *Cod. Just.* 1.29.5: '... Magnam Armeniam, quae interior dicebatur et gentes: Anzetnam videlicet, Ingilenam, Asthianenam, Sopenam, Sophanenam, in qua est Martyro-

territory which in the Roman Empire came to be called Other Armenia was officially designated in Roman documents as *satrapiae* or *gentes/ἔθνη*.¹⁰⁰

The Pentarchy, however, was not destined to coexist for long with the Byzantine cosmocracy. As a punishment for their complicity in the revolt of Illus, the Pentarchs, with the exception of the Prince of Balabitenne (the least important among them), saw their sovereign rights curtailed in 488 by the Emperor Zeno, to the extent of the abolition of the hereditary succession hitherto followed by them. So, at least, Procopius;¹⁰¹ but we may suspect that these were but high words expressive of the perennial cosmocratic claims of the Imperial *οἰκουμένη*, which made it tend to regard all vassal sovereigns as mere officials of the Emperor; and that, in actual reality, it was merely a tightening, or just introduction, of the Imperial control over the princely succession, which lent color to such claims.¹⁰² It appears likely,

polis, Balabitenam...'; — Nov. 31: ... τῶν ἐθνῶν... Τζοφανηγή τε καὶ Ἀνζητηνή καὶ Τζοφανή, καὶ Ἀσθιανηγή καὶ Βαλαβιτηνή καλουμένη καὶ ὑπὸ σατράπαις οὐσα (see, for the emendation of this text, Adontz, *Armenija* 29 n.1). Cf. *infra* n. 107.

¹⁰⁰ *Supra* n. 93. In view of what has just been suggested, the use of the terms 'hexarchy' and especially 'hexarch,' adopted in *Introd.* I, is to be replaced by that of 'pentarchy' and 'pentarch.' — The term 'satrap' applied by the Roman government to the trans-Euphratensian Princes is a misnomer: *Introd.* I 63 n. 140. And although Justinian is correct in stating that ἀρχῆς δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἦν οὐδὲ Ῥωμαϊκὸν οὐδὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτέρας πολιτείας εἰσενηγεγμένον (Nov. 31), this term was equally foreign to the Armenian polity, and it was only in the Roman Empire that these princes were so denominated. It is, therefore, perhaps not altogether exact to state, with Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 471, that with the dispossession of these princes (*infra* at n. 108) 'le titre de satrape s'éteignit après avoir existé sans interruption depuis le vi^e siècle avant J.-C.' (italics mine). The origin of this Roman usage remains obscure; cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 185; Adontz, *Armenija* 41. But it manifested the cosmocratic claims of a totalitarian State, for which, see *infra* n. 102. The name 'Gentiles' is also suggestive, for it shows these Princes' complete autonomy: they did not belong to the theophanic microcosm of the Empire which claimed to be 'New Jerusalem' no less than 'New Rome.'

¹⁰¹ *De aed.* 3.1.25-28.

¹⁰² Cf. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee* (2nd. ed. Darmstadt 1956) 192 ('Die Beliehenen sind in byzantinischer Betrachtung gewissermassen Statthalter, die für "Rom" das Land verwalten'); W. Ensslin, 'The Emperor and the Imperial Administration,' in N. Baynes and H. Moss, *Byzantium* (Oxford 1948) 273 ('other Christian princes could be, as it were, only the representatives of the Christ-loving Emperor'); L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1949) 282-300. A weaker and reduced Empire, of the neo-Hellenistic phase, adopted the milder fiction of the Emperor's headship of the 'pneumatic' family of Christian princes: Treitinger 195-196; and especially, F. Dölger, 'Die "Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter,' 'Die mittelalterliche "Familie der Fürsten und Völker" und der Bulgarenherrscher,' 'Der Bulgarenherrscher als geistlicher Sohn des byzantinischen Kaisers,' in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal 1953). One is reminded of the similar cosmocratic claims of the Mongol Khans, which made them treat the succession of their Rurikid vassals in Rus' as a matter of 'appointment.'

moreover, that Zeno's vengeance entailed something else, and that the Pentarchs were reduced from the status of *civitates foederatae* to that of *civitates stipendiariae*.¹⁰³

The end came in the reign of Justinian I. There exists no one official instrument whereby the fact of the dispossession of the five dynasties and of the annexation of their six States is expressly proclaimed, but there are a series of Imperial enactments the combined effect of which is tantamount to precisely that. First, from 528, a new office was created, that of *magister militum per Armeniam et Pontum Polemoniacum et gentes*, residing at Theodosiopolis, which was placed in command of the Imperial armies stationed in these three territories, the last named of which comprised, as the Emperor himself specifies,¹⁰⁴ the six trans-Euphratensian princedoms. Under the Master of Soldiers stood the *duces*, notably the two *duces in gentes*, one commanding the Imperial forces at Citharizon in Asthianene and the other at Martyropolis in Greater Sophene.¹⁰⁵ This enactment quashed with a stroke of the pen at least two of the princely privileges: the immunity from Imperial garrisons and the right to maintain armed forces.¹⁰⁶ Next, Novel 31, of 18 March 536, concerned with the administrative reorganization of the Armenian territories in the Empire, announced, *inter alia*, the transformation of the *ἔθνη/gentes* into a new province, Fourth Armenia, replacing the five trans-Euphratensian lands which 'had hitherto been under satraps,' and to be now administered by a *consularis* residing at the metropolis of this new province, Martyropolis. This preconized the dispossession of the Pentarchs, the abolition of their sovereign rights, the end of the Pentarchy.¹⁰⁷ Having destroyed the political,

¹⁰³ Whereas an Imperial decree of 387, addressed to Gaddana, Prince (*satrapes*, cf. *supra* n. 100) of Greater Sophene or Sophanene (*Cod. Theod.* 12.13.6), stressed the voluntary nature of the *aurum coronarium* expected of the trans-Euphratensian Princes (as *civitates foederatae*), Gaddana's successor, Theodore of Greater Sophene, is reported by Procopius to have, together with the people of Martyropolis, surrendered to the Great King in 502 the public taxes of two years (*φόρους τε τοὺς δημοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες*): *De aed.* 3.2.6. Adontz suggests that, unless the *φόροι δημόσιοι* of Procopius be considered as a rendering of *aurum coronarium*, a reduction in status is implied, which he connects with Zeno: *Armenija* 113-116. This reduction amounted to the abolition of one of the immunities enjoyed by these vassal princes — from Imperial taxation: *Introd.* I 83.

¹⁰⁴ *Supra* n. 99.

¹⁰⁵ *Cod. Just.* 1.29.5; also Procopius, *De aed.* 3.1.28-29; 3.2, 3; Malalas, *Chron.* CSHB (1831) 429-430; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 131-152; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 289-291.

¹⁰⁶ *Introd.* I 83; cf. Procopius, *De aed.* 3.1.24, 27-28. Thus, the Princes appear to have enjoyed greater rights in the Roman Empire than, earlier, in the Kingdom of Great Armenia, where the king had the right to install garrisons in some castles on princely territory: *supra* at n. 67.

¹⁰⁷ *Supra* n. 99; also Procopius, *De aed.* 3.1.28 (who telescopes the two enactments, this and that of 528, into one act: 'Ιουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν τῶν σατραπῶν ὄνομα ἐξήλασεν ἐνθὲνδε εὐθὺς, δοῦκας δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους δύο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπέστησε τούτοις);

public, power of the Armenian princes under his aegis, Justinian proceeded to attack their position, the sole position which was left to them by their 'mediatization,' as holders of private domains. By Edict 3, of 23 July 535, Novel 21, of 18 March 536, and Novel 118, of 543, he proclaimed abrogated the traditional Armenian system of agnatic and constitutionally preordained succession and, instead, enforced upon his Armenian subjects the system of cognatic inheritance. This was bound to break up the great 'genearchic' landholdings of the 'mediatized' princes and so to weaken the former dynasts.¹⁰⁸ Thus crushed under the weight of 'Roman friendship' the Pentarchs disappeared from history. The law concerning the administrative reorganization of Armenia, of 18 March 536, speaks of pentarchal rule as a thing of the past and, indeed, the first attack on the private property of the princes, which could only follow the loss by them of their public power, occurred in 535. The end of the Pentarchy must, therefore, lie between 528 and 535; and most likely in connection with the end of the First Persian War, in 532, when Justinian's hands were free to enforce his will upon the populations of the eastern frontier of the Empire. At least, the embassy sent in 539¹⁰⁹ by the Armenian princes to the Great King asserted that the Emperor had begun interfering with their rights upon the conclusion of the 'Eternal Peace.' It is true, of course, that the embassy in question came from the princes of Inner Armenia and not those of the trans-Euphratensian lands, but, as has been seen, all of Justinian's enactments concerning Armenia dealt at once with both these Armenian regions.¹¹⁰

cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 157-176; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 471; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 344. — It may be suggested that, when Justinian is concerned, as in the act of 528, with the new military organization of the trans-Euphratensian lands, he refers to all the six of them, but that, in dealing with the new administration, he has in mind only the five princely governments replaced by it.

¹⁰⁸ Adontz, *Armenija* 179-198; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 470-472; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 345; cf. *Introd.* I 67 n. 158, 68 n. 161. In Novel 118, Justinian notes also the absence of testamentary dispositions among the Armenians. This is quite natural, for the *γενεαρχικὰ χωρία* constituted the dynastic domains of the recently 'mediatized' princes; as such, being but lately connected with the exercise of public power, they were succeeded to in accordance with the right of birth and not inherited in accordance with one's will; cf. Adontz 195-196. Justinian's vehemence in suppressing all this was caused, undoubtedly, by a totalitarian's desire for uniformity and hatred of any form of aristocratic independence; cf. *ibid.* 196-198. It would probably be an over-estimation of Justinian's delicacy of feeling to suppose that he intentionally abstained from overtly proclaiming by one legal act this wholly unjustifiable breaking of the *foedus* of the Empire and its sovereign vassals.

¹⁰⁹ For the date of the embassy (given wrongly by Adontz as of 532: *Armenija* 175), see Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3.56 (13th year of Justinian); cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 364.

¹¹⁰ Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3.28-53. It is true that the Princes referred specifically to new taxation, which was contrary to previous agreements; but that, after all, was a salient

8. The sources at our disposal do not indicate explicitly who was invested, while the Syrian March of the Armenian Monarchy was in existence, with the office of the vitaxa of that march. The text of Peter the Patrician regarding the acquisition of that march by Rome in 298 indicates that Sophene depended on Ingilene,¹¹¹ or, at all events, that the latter was the leading State in it. And this may indeed suggest that it was the Prince of Ingilene and Anzitene who was, at least until 298, invested with the vitaxate.¹¹² His control of two States would provide an easy explanation of his pre-eminence. On the other hand, the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia, controlling in his quality of *ostikan* the most important strongholds of the march, including what had once been the capital of the Kingdom of Sophene, appears to have been, at least after 298, the natural viceroy of the region. After that date, the fortresses of Angl and Bnabel seem to have escaped Roman control and remained with the King of Armenia; this, at least, is what is clear from the text of Faustus.¹¹³ Very possibly, Roman control concerned only princely territory and the Armeno-Roman *modus vivendi* exempted from it the royal fortresses. In this case, what was left of the Syrian March after 298 must have come completely under the *ostikan*'s authority. Accordingly, unless it be assumed that the investiture of the Prince of Ingilene with the Syrian vicereignty is insufficiently indicated and that consequently it may always, for fear of the Orontid branches surviving on its territory, have been in the hands of appointed officials, the year of the Peace of Nisibis must be regarded as the *terminus a quo* of the Grand Chamberlain's connection with this margraviate, the Prince of Ingilene and Anzitene being unable after that date, as a Roman vassal, of fulfilling the functions implied in this office. In Agathangelus, at any rate, the Prince of Ingilene and the Syrian Vitaxa are mentioned side by side as two different persons.¹¹⁴ The fact that the Syrian Vitaxa is never again, after Agathangelus, heard of in the early historical writings concerning Armenia may be explained by the supposition that the changes of 298 reduced the territory under his jurisdiction to but a few royal castles and that, as a consequence, the office itself lost its original importance and was eventually absorbed in that of *ostikan*, the latter implying as it did, precisely, the control of those castles. At all events, the office of Grand Chamberlain in conjunction

outcome of their 'mediatization'; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 111-113. For Inner Armenia, see *infra* § 12 at nn. 208-219.

¹¹¹ *Supra* n. 63; cf. Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 171-172.

¹¹² *Ibid.* Markwart thought, without sufficient reason, that it was rather the Prince of Šahian Sophene who was the Vitaxa. This was, doubtless, due to his interpretation of the toponym; for this, *supra* at n. 65.

¹¹³ 3.12; 5.7 (*infra* at n. 117).

¹¹⁴ Arm. Agath. 126/873 (440); Gk. Agath. 165.

with that of *ostikan* and with the Mardpet-dom must have outshone what remained of the position of the Syrian Vitaxa.¹¹⁶

Modern historiography has displayed a tendency to confuse the Princes of Ingilene and the Grand Chamberlains.¹¹⁶ This confusion is due to two facts: first, the fact that the Grand Chamberlains held the office of *ostikan* of Angl, the chief fortress of Ingilene, and, secondly, the fact that one of the incumbents of these offices, Drastamat, Grand Chamberlain of Armenia under Tigranes (Tiran) VII (c. 342-350) and Arsaces II (c. 350-367), was given the title of Prince of Ingilene. This is related by Faustus in the following terms:

Եւ էր ներքինի մի Հայոց թագաւորին Արշակայ, ոստիկան Հաւատարիմ՝ Լեալ, ներքինի սիրելի մեծի իշխանութեան և մեծի պատուի, և անուն Դրաստամատն ... Իսկ Դրաստամատն ներքինին, որ յամս Տիրանայ թագաւորին Հայոց և Արշակայ որդւոյ նորա թագաւորին Հայոց Լեալ էր իշխան տան գաւառին և Հաւատարիմ գանձուց Մնգեղ բերդին, և ամենայն բերդացն արքունի՝ որ ի կողմանս յայնս. սոյնպէս և յերկրին Ծովիաց ի Բնաբեղ բերդին գանձքն Լեալ էին ընդ նովաւ, և բարձ նսրա ի վեր քան զանենայն նախարարացն: Եւ քանզի այս գործակալութիւն և մարդպետութիւն, որում Հայրն կոչէին ներքինեաց, գործ Լեալ էր ի բնէ ժամանակաց ի թագաւորութեանն արշակունոյ ...¹¹⁷

In the above text, Faustus makes a clear distinction between, on the one hand, the dignity of Prince of Ingilene and, on the other, the offices and dignities of the Grand Chamberlain, that is, *hayr*, *ostikan*, and *mardpet*, when he writes:

¹¹⁶ Faustus' text (3.9; *supra* at n. 41) on the pre-eminence of the four Vitaxae at the Court of Armenia need not be taken in an exclusive sense. This is precisely what Adontz does, *Armenija* 283, and then proceeds to express his puzzlement as to how the four Vitaxae could all have had the first place. Obviously, Faustus is not to be taken here *au pied de la lettre*. List A of the Gregorian cycle shows very clearly that the greater princes could take precedence of the Vitaxae. Thus, on that list, the Prince of Arzanene, who was Vitaxa of the Arabian March, is preceded by the Prince of Ingilene, who was no longer the Syrian Vitaxa, and the Prince of Gogarene, who was the Iberian Vitaxa, is preceded not only by the Mardpet (also Grand Chamberlain and, probably, Syrian Vitaxa), but also by the Princes of the Bagratids, of the Mamikonids, of Corduene, and of Sophene; cf. *infra* § 20 Table VI.

¹¹⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 41-42; Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 166; *Südarmerien* 125 n. 3; for a greater imbroglio, see *infra* to the end of § 8.

¹¹⁷ 5.7 (210-211).

... So Drastamat the eunuch ... [under Tigranes VII and Arsaces II]... had become Prince of the domain of the canton, and one entrusted with the treasures, of Angl Castle, and [with those] of all the royal castles in that region. Likewise, also the treasures of Bnabel Castle in the land of Sophene had been under him... this office [*scil.* guardian of the treasures = *ostikan*] and the Mardpet-dom, which was denominated *hayr*, had from the ancient days of the Arsacid kings been the function of eunuchs.¹¹⁸

Since the Princes of Ingilene and Anzitene continued to flourish, under Roman overlordship, down to the sixth century, the appointment of Drastamat as Prince of Ingilene can only be considered a purely titular one. In other words, with the Prince of Ingilene passing outside the orbit of the Armenian Crown, the latter chose to regard the region of the Angl Castle, which it still controlled, as that principality; and the *ostikan* of that castle as the prince of that region, in addition to his traditional appanage of the Mardpet-dom. Much confusion could have been avoided if a Western parallel in the correlation of the two authorities in Ingilene had been taken into consideration. Accordingly, the existence of the *Fürsten* or *Landgrafen* (*išxankʿ*) of Ingilene (Angel-tun) in no way conflicted with that of a *Pfalzgraf* (*ostikan*) of its chief fortress (Angl), who was also still *Markgraf* of Sophene as well as Grand Chamberlain of Armenia.¹¹⁹ What happened in the case of Drastamat

¹¹⁸ Italics in this translation are mine. — It is very odd that, in the teeth of the plain sense of the above text, Markwart should have argued that, since in that chapter Drastamat is nowhere entitled *hayr mardpet*, but is referred to as ‘the eunuch’ (*nerkʿini*), he was not in fact Grand Chamberlain; but that that office was at the time filled by Głak (in the MSS Dłak) through the confusion of *q* and *ḡ* or Gylaces (Faustus 5.3 and 6; Ammianus Marcellinus 27.12); *Genealogie* 24-25. This chapter of Faustus appears to be largely an adaptation of an older, half-legendary account of the death of Arsaces II in the Castle of Oblivion; Procopius has another adaptation of it in *Bell. pers.* 1.5. It is possible, therefore, that Faustus merely repeated his source’s way of referring to Drastamat as ‘the eunuch.’ After all, this is precisely how Ammianus Marcellinus refers to Głak-Gylaces. This cannot in any way detract the value of what appears to have been Faustus’ own remarks on the nature of Drastamat’s offices and titles, adduced above, where, moreover, Drastamat’s connection with the office of *hayr* and the title of *mardpet* is amply indicated. Markwart’s chronological objection will lose ground when confronted with the following table of the Grand Chamberlains of Armenia, based on Faustus 5.3, 6: — (1) Głak (for the first time) ‘for some time’ under Arsaces II or his father Tigranes VII; — (2) Drastamat, under Tigranes VII and Arsaces II [lost his office when Arsaces lost his Crown]; — (3) Unnamed Mardpet, executed by King Pap (368-374); — (4) Głak (for the second time), executed by King Pap.

¹¹⁹ I am grateful to Prince Charles Schwarzenberg for drawing my attention, in his letter of 30 January 1960, to this parallel. What makes this parallel especially interesting is that it is not only functional, but also, to some extent semantic: *ostikan* being related to *ostan* (‘Court’) (*supra* nn. 63, 70) exactly as *Pfalzgraf* = *comes palatinus* is related to *palatium*.

was that the *Pfalzgraf*(-*Markgraf*) was, in addition, given the titular rank of *Fürst* of Ingilene. Faustus also says in that text that Drastamat enjoyed highest rank at Court; this must have been due precisely to that titular appointment, for in List A of the Gregorian cycle, the Prince of Ingilene and Anzitene has the first place, outranking among others the Mardpet. This investiture with the titular principedom of Ingilene must have been, unlike the investiture with the Mardpet-dom, an isolated instance: *ad personam* of Drastamat. We may suppose that this took place in, or shortly after, 363, following the defection, recorded by Faustus, from whatever vestigial suzerainty of the Armenian Monarchy, of Sałamut of [Ingilene and] Anzitene and of the Prince of Greater Sophene, but before the capture and imprisonment of Arsaces II by the Great King, likewise related by Faustus, which took place shortly thereafter.¹²⁰ It will be noted that the two princes were those on whose territory were situated the two great royal castles that were governed by the Grand Chamberlain as *ostikan*. This defection, accordingly, affecting the security of these two important strongholds, was doubtless responsible for the royal attempt to create around the more important of the two castles, Angl, and out of the territory of its palatinate, a sort of counter-principedom. It may be out of loyalty to this royal act that Faustus never speaks of the dynast — the *Landgraf* — otherwise than as Prince of Anzitene alone, reserving for the official — the *gefürsteter Pfalzgraf*, as it were — the title of Ingilene.¹²¹ The fall of Arsaces II, and of Drastamat, must have put an end to this interesting institution.¹²²

9. The third margrave on List B of Agathangelus is called *sahmanakaln yAruastan kolmanēn*, which is rendered, or rather senselessly transcribed, into Greek as ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀροαστῶν μερῶν. *Aruastan* was the Armenian name for the region of Nisibis,¹²³ that is, the old Kingdom of Mygdonia; its

¹²⁰ For these two events, see Faustus 4.50 (*supra* n. 88) and 4.54.

¹²¹ Since Markwart refused to consider Drastamat a Grand Chamberlain (*supra* n. 118), he felt obliged to reject the connection between the office of *ostikan* of Angl, etc., and that of *hayr mardpet*: *Genealogie* 22-25; but cf. *Ērānšahr* 166; *Südarmerien* 125 n. 3. Accordingly, he asserted that Drastamat was but one of a series of eunuchs who, not being Grand Chamberlains, were *ostikank'* of Angl and also held the Principality of Ingilene. This, however, is plainly contradicted by Faustus 5.7, where the traditional connection of the two offices is stressed. It is the investiture with Ingilene that appears, from that text, unconnected with these offices, but united with them only in the person of Drastamat. Markwart's appeal to the fact that Faustus does not mention a Prince of Ingilene apart from Drastamat (*Genealogie* 33) has been answered above. And he simply overlooks the testimony of other sources to the continued existence, down to the sixth century, of the Princes of Ingilene and Anzitene.

¹²² Drastamat was led captive to Iran together with his king: Faustus, 5.7; Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 1.5.30. For the tragic end of both, see Faustus, *loc. cit.*; Procopius, 1.5.30-40.

¹²³ *Prim. Hist.* 13; Faustus 4.20 (139: *aruac'astani*); 4.21 (144: *aruestani*); Sebēos 2 (51).

Syriac name being *Bēθ-Arabāyē*.¹²⁴ Accordingly the march in question comprised parts of that kingdom, as well as those of the Kingdom of Gordyene.¹²⁵ Elsewhere in the Armenian sources, the Vitaxa of this region is called 'of Arzanene,'¹²⁶ sometimes 'great Prince of Arzanene ... called Vitaxa,'¹²⁷ 'Great Vitaxa,'¹²⁸ and even 'King of Arzanene.'¹²⁹ Arzanene was the name of the Vitaxa's own dynastic State, with its nucleus in the canton and castle of Ałdzn or Ardzn¹³⁰ and with the former Arsacid capital of Tigranocerta on its territory,¹³¹ which was extended to the entire margraviate of which that State was a part. This name appears to have been a survival of the ancient ethnicon Alzi-Alshe-Azzi of the Hittite, Assyrian, and Urartian records.¹³²

The Princes of Arzanene, Vitaxae of the Arabian March were a branch of the Orontid Dynasty, but were traditionally ascribed a descent from King Sennacherib of Assyria.¹³³ By the Peace of Nisibis, Arzanene, together with Corduene and Zabdicene, Moxoene and Rehimene, passed under the aegis of Rome, but, in the reign of Chosroes II of Armenia (c. 337-342), Bacurius, Vitaxa of Arzanene, made an attempt to pass to Iranian allegiance.¹³⁴ This implied also his detaching himself completely from what vestiges of Armenian suzerainty that Rome, so long as the King of Armenia himself remained her vassal, had evidently done nothing to destroy.¹³⁵ Thereupon, doubtless with Rome's connivance, Chosroes II sent a punitive expedition against Bacurius, in which the princes of the two Sophenes, also Roman vassals, took part. Bacurius lost his life in the struggle, and his State and dignities passed, to-

¹²⁴ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 165-166; *Südarmenien* 378.

¹²⁵ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 25, 165-166, 169, 178.

¹²⁶ *Aljineac*: the genitive of *Aljnik*: 'Ἀλσενῶν in Gk. Agath. (*supra* n. 38; *infra* n. 324).

¹²⁷ Faustus 3.9 (*supra* at n. 41).

¹²⁸ Arm. Agath. 112/745; Gk. Life of St. Gregory 98 (*supra* at n. 38; *infra* n. 324).

¹²⁹ Faustus 5.16 (chapter heading).

¹³⁰ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 25, 178.

¹³¹ Faustus 4.24.

¹³² Cf. Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 198, 275; G. Melikišvili, *Usartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi* (Moscow 1960) 417.

¹³³ Toumanoff, *Orontids* I 35, 31-33. — This house is mentioned in Lists A and B of the Gregorian cycle (*infra* § 20 table VI); Faustus 3.9 (*supra* at n. 41); 4.24, 50; 5.16; Lazarus 33 (134); Eliseus 1 (16), 2(66), 4(120), 7(173); and Ps. Moses 1.23 (chapter heading on the common descent of the Vitaxae of Arzanene, the Arcrunis and the Gnumis from Sennacherib of Assyria); 2.8, 30; 3.4. — It is to be regretted that Markwart should have reversed his opinion in *Genealogie* 23-24 — but not in *Südarmenien*, e.g. 116 (which work appeared in the same year 1930) — when he identified the Vitaxa of Arzanene with the 'Assyrian' margrave and stated that 'ein *bdeašx* nach der Seite von Arvastan ... ist überhaupt nicht bekannt.' For the confusion between 'Syrian' and 'Assyrian' in connection with the Orontid origin of the House of Arzanene, see my *Orontid* I 35 and § 15.

¹³⁴ Faustus 3.9 (*supra* at n.41); cf. Ps. Moses 3.4.

¹³⁵ *Supra* at n. 91.

gether with the hand of his daughter, to Vaĭnak, Prince of Siunia [§ 12.25]. Owing, however, to the protection of the Mamikonids, the inheritance of Bacurius soon reverted to his son Khesha.¹³⁶ In 363, nevertheless, Arzanene and its dependencies were ceded by Rome to the Great King;¹³⁷ with this, it left the Armenian Monarchy. Though in 371, Armenian control over Arzanene and its dependencies was re-established, and the family of the Vitaxa taken captive,¹³⁸ the Partition of Armenia of 387 once again, and definitively, placed Arzanene in the Iranian sphere and outside that of the Armenian Monarchy. In the mid-fifth century, the Vitaxa of Arzanene was appealed to by the Armenian insurgents as a foreign power, like the Empire, Ingilene, Sophene, etc.¹³⁹ After that date, the dynasty of Arzanene is no longer heard of in the sources.

In the Vitaxate,¹⁴⁰ besides the House of Arzanene, the following three, apparently immemorially local, Carduchian dynasties were established. First, the Princes of Corduene, who appear to have occupied a unique position among the princes, not only of that march, but also of the entire kingdom, in that they were exempt from the military control of the High Constable of Armenia.¹⁴¹ They, accordingly, must have commanded their cavalry contingent separately. This possibly was the reason why, of the princes sent by Chosroes II against Bacurius of Arzanene, Jon of Corduene was the only one from the Vitaxate.¹⁴² Corduene was the only princely State in Gordyene.¹⁴³ Was

¹³⁶ *Supra* n. 134.

¹³⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus 25.7.9 (*supra* n.63); Faustus 4.50 (*supra* n.54).

¹³⁸ Faustus 5.10, 16.

¹³⁹ Lazarus 33 (134). In Eliseus, Arzanene appears as even more foreign than in Lazarus: 1 (16), 2(66), 4(120), 7(173).

¹⁴⁰ For this march, see Adontz, *Armenija* 42-43; Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 25, 114, 165-166, 169, 178; *Südarmerien* 89-90, 115-116, 119-122, 215-220, 352-354, 357, 373-374; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 248-251, 254-259, 305-322, 331-337; Gelzer, *Georg. Cypr.* 47 n.938a, 165-167; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 4-6, 22-24, maps I, IV; Garitte, *Documents* 200-202, 219-220, 225, 237; Baumgartner, s. v. 'Arzanene,' RE 2/2. 1498; Streck, *ibid.* Suppl. 1.147; Tournebize, s. v. 'Arzn,' DHGE 4.862; Baumgartner, s. v. *Γορδυηνή*, RE 7/2. 1594-1595. — Arzanene = Arm. Aĭjnik' = Syr. Arzōn; Corduene = Arm. Korduk' = Syr. Bēθ-Qardū; Moxoene = Arm. Mokk' = Syr. Bēθ-Moksāyē; Zabdicene = Arm. Cawdēk' = Syr. Bēθ-Zaβdē; Rehimene = Syr. Bēθ-Rehīmē; Gordyene = Arm. Korčēk'. — The Vitaxate of Arzanene comprised, thus, besides the province of Arzanene with the nuclear principedom of Aĭjn, also the Province of Moxoene and a part at least of that of Gordyene.

¹⁴¹ This house is mentioned in List A of the Gregorian cycle; Faustus 3.9; 4.50; 5.10; Eliseus 1(16), 2(66); Ps. Moses 2.8. The exemption of the Prince of Corduene from the control of the High Constable is implied in the Arab. Life of St. Gregory 86 [Garitte's translation, 72]: '... principes ... sub eius [scil. High Constable's] potestate erant, praeterquam quod princeps qmrδl non erat sub eius potestate, quae (regio) est iuxta fortes qrδyṭn'; cf. Garitte, *Documents* 219-220; *Introd.* I 102; *infra* § 20 n. 324.

¹⁴² Faustus 3.9.

¹⁴³ In the province of Gordyene was also situated the principedom of Albace or Little

its dynasty descended from the ancient Kings of Gordyene and was this the explanation of its singular position? It is impossible to tell. Then, the Princes of the province of Moxoene, who remained in the Armenian political sphere, after the other two dynasties had followed Arzanene out of it,¹⁴⁴ and who became extinct after the seventh century, their State devolving upon the Bagratids [§ 12.9].¹⁴⁵ Finally, the Princes of Zabdicene who, having followed, together with their *confrères*, the political vicissitudes of the Vitaxate, disappeared from history at the same time as the Houses of Arzanene and of Corduene.¹⁴⁶ The Vitaxate, moreover, contained the Syrian land of Rehimene.¹⁴⁷

Albak, belonging to the Arcrunis [§ 12.8], for which see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 335-336. But we do not know whether the entire province was included in the Arabian March.

¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, in Eliseus 1(16) and 2(66). Arzanene, Corduene, and Zabdicene appear as distinct from Armenia as Iberia and Albania; cf. *infra* n. 145.

¹⁴⁵ *Introd.* I 81 and n. 186.

¹⁴⁶ The Princes of Zabdicene are mentioned in List A of the Gregorian cycle; Eliseus 1(16) and 2(66); Ps. Moses 2,8. — In recent historiography Eliseus' reference to *Cawdēic' / Cōdēic'*, among those peoples to whom the religious edict of Yazdgard II was addressed (1[16], 2[66]), has been interpreted as having to do with the Sodi of Pliny, 6.11.29 (*sic plana aut devexa optinentur; rursus ab Albaniae confinio tota montium fronte gentes Silvorum ferae et infra Lupeniorum, mox Diduri et Sodi*); e. g. Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 202 n. 3. Except the Sodi, the ethnica of Pliny are perfectly identifiable: *ibid.* 48. Now the edict of Yazdgard was addressed, in Eliseus 1, to the Armenians, Iberians, Albanians, Lp'ink' = Lupeniori, Cawdeayk', Carduenians (*Karduac'*), and Arzanenians (*Aljneac'*) and, in Eliseus 2, to the Armenians, Iberians, Albanians, Lp'ink', Arzanenians, Cōrduenians, Cōdeayk', and Darsan (= Dassintrē in the Median March?). 'Albania and Lp'ink' (and Čor)' formed part of the *intitulatio* of the Albanian katholikoi: Trever 48, 243. Most likely they entered also the *intitulatio* of the Albanian kings. They, at any rate, were, like 'France and Navarre' or 'England and Wales,' frequently spoken of in the same breath. But, just because the Lp'ink' are indeed the Lupeniori of Pliny, it does not follow that Pliny's unidentified Sodi must be Cawdeayk' / Cōdeayk' (*ō* being a later way of manuscript rendering of the original diphthong *aw*) of Eliseus. The latter term is mentioned, in two different combinations, together with those to designate Arzanene and Corduene, while its proximity to the Lp'ink' appears fortuitous, being due to one of the two ways in which these three names are ranged. There can be no doubt, I think, that the term in question denotes Zabdicene. But the confusion is an ancient one: Ps. Moses, too, possibly under the impression of some source where, as in Eliseus 1, the Lp'ink' are mentioned just before the Cawdeayk', believed the Princes of Zabdicene (who had disappeared long before his time) to have been an Albanian dynasty, for in 2.8 he assigned to them the descent, together with the Houses of Otene [§ 13.19] and Gardman [§ 13.9], from the Albanian eponym Aran.

¹⁴⁷ Rehimene is not known to Armenian geography, its very toponym not having any Armenian equivalent, and there is absolutely no indication that it ever had a dynasty of its own. It was not, therefore, an Armenian land, let alone an Armenian principedom, but a Syrian region controlled by the Vitaxae of Arzanene, or even merely grouped together with the lands controlled by them, by the Roman government at the moment when it passed under the aegis of the Empire. It is mentioned above only because, of all the several

10. The last Vitaxa on List B of Agathangelus is qualified as *i Mask't'ac' kolmanēn* and, in an attempt at a Greek interpretation of it, as *τῶν Μασαχοῦ τῶν Οὐννων μερῶν*. This term stands, in this context, for the Mushki-Moschians dwelling in the south-western — Moschich of Meskhan — part of Iberia.¹⁴⁸ Three Iberian lands bordering on that territory, Tao, Cholarzene, and Gogarene, were conquered by the Artaxiads and formed by them into the northern march of the Armenian Monarchy, which was placed under the Prince of Gogarene as Vitaxa and which, though denominated 'Moschic

princeless cantons of Arzanene, Gordyene, and Moxoene that formed part of the Vitaxate, Rehimene alone has played a role in history, for which, see *supra* n. 63.

¹⁴⁸ This term is found again in Arm. Agath. 120/182 (425) and, similarly rendered, in Gk. Agath. 15., in connection with the geographical limits of St. Gregory's preaching: 'from the city of Satala to the country of Chaldia, to Cholarzene, to the very frontiers of the *Mask't'k'* to the Alan Gate, to the frontier of the Caspians, to P'aytakaran the city of Kingdom of Armenia...' (*ի Սատաղացուց քաղաքէն մինչև առ աշխարհաւն Խաղտեաց, մինչև առ Կաղարջօք, մինչ ի սպառ ի սահմանն Մասքթաց, մինչև ի դրունո Աւանաց, մինչ ի ռահմանս Կասսիդց, ի Փայտակարան քաղաք արքայութեանն Հայոց*). The term *Mazk't'k'* is found also in Faustus, 3.5-6, in connection with the younger St. Gregory's preaching in Albania. Faustus, moreover, connects these neighbors of Albania with the Huns and also describes the invasion of Armenia by the *Mazk't'k'* and the Huns: 3.7. This invasion is discussed very thoroughly by Trever, *Oč. po. ist. Alb.* 188-197. In this fourth-century invasion, Albania also seems to have participated. There can be no question that in this context the term *Mazk't'k'* can only refer to the Massagetae or Alans: Markwart and J. Messina, 'Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer,' *Orientalia Christiana* 27/2 (1932) 214-219; though Trever would, instead, identify them with the north-Caucasian Mazamacae of Pliny 6.7.21. But, on the other hand, in the context of the two Agathangelus passages, the term in question must denote the Moschians: Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 168-169 (in *Genealogie* 24, however, Markwart reversed his opinion and spoke of 'dem Markhüter nach der Seite der *Mask'ut'k'*, d.i. der Massageten oder Alenen'); Peeters, 'Les débuts du christianisme en Géorgie,' *AB* 50 (1932) 21-23 (who went too far in the opposite direction and would see even in the *Mazk't'k'* of Faustus the Moschians and not the Massagetae); cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 212 and n. 1. With the memory of the great invasion just mentioned still relatively fresh, it would have been only too natural for the compiler, or copyist, of the Agathangelus to substitute the term *Mask't'k'* (indeed meaning the Massagetae) for whatever word had originally been used to designate the Moschians. The proximity of Gogarene, the most important part of the northern vicereignty, to Albania must have made this substitution easy: that vicereignty could be regarded as a bulwark of the Armenian Monarchy from any Albanian, no less than any Iberian, invasion. The Greek Agathangelus adds in both passages, under the influence of the same memory, or of the text of Faustus, the words *τῶν Οὐννων*. The reference to the Alan Gate (the Greek translation transposes here two toponyms and has: *καὶ πύλων Κασπίων καὶ μερῶν Ἀλανῶν*: the confusion between the 'Caspian' and the 'Alan' Gates was widespread among the ancients: Trever 121-126, 214-216, 274-275; and so also one between 'Albani' and 'Alani') constitutes, I think, a proof of the equivalence *Mask't'k'* = Moschians. The passage in question assumes Armenian suzerainty over Iberia, which is the constant thesis of the Gregorian cycle; it thus makes Iberia's northernmost limit, the Alan Gates, Armenia's own. Our passage,

March,' was the bulwark against the Kingdoms of Iberia and Albania.¹⁴⁹ Hence it was under the name of Vitaxa of Gogarene¹⁵⁰ that this margrave was generally known: the name of the province wherein his nucleal principedom was situated being given to the entire march, which included other provinces.

Appearing in the sources earlier than the other Vitaxae — in the Armazi inscriptions of the first century after Christ — and, in general, being better documented than they, this line of margraves also outlived the others by some three centuries, disappearing from history in the eighth century. These dynasts appear in the sources under various titles. The Armazi inscriptions style them simply 'vitaxa.'¹⁵¹ The documents of the Gregorian cycle refer to them as 'Prince of the country of Gogarene, who is called The Other Vitaxa,'¹⁵² 'the other κομητατήσιος,'¹⁵³ 'Prince of the land of Gogarene, who also has the dignity of vitaxa.'¹⁵⁴ The title of 'Other Vitaxa' was correlative to 'Great Vitaxa' borne by the Arabian marcher. It could be supposed that the Court of Armenia had attempted to make as painless as possible the delicate problem of precedence among the four coequal tetrarchs. So, whereas the first and the second tetrarch, the Median and the Syrian, had no additional qualifications, the third one, the Arabian, was entitled 'The Great' and the last, the Iberian, 'The Other.' Faustus calls him 'Vitaxa of Gogarene.'¹⁵⁵ This Armeno-Georgian march appears to have been called 'Iberia' by the Armenians and 'Armenia' by the Georgians.¹⁵⁶ Accordingly, Lazarus calls

accordingly, traces the complete northern boundary of the Armenian Monarchy: Satala-Chaldia-Cholarzene-Moschica-Iberia (= the Alan Gates)-Caspiane (or P'aytakaran, with the chief city of that name). Cf. in this connection Ptolemy 5.12.4: *παρὰ μὲν τὰ Μοσχικὰ ὄρη ἢ Καταρζηνή*. For Catarzene-Cholarzene-Klarjet'i-Klarjk', see Toumanoff, 'The Bagratids of Iberia,' *Le Muséon* 74 (1961) II § 3, 11. Ptolemy's Μοσχικά = Strabo's Μοσχική (11. 2.17 and 18) = Cedrenus' Μεσχία (2.572); it is the Mesxet'i (Meschia) or Zemo K'art'li (Upper Iberia) of the Georgians: Vaxušt, *Geogr. Descr.* 70-130; Javaxišvili, *K'art'li. er. ist.* II (Tiflis 1914) 319-335; A. Gugushvili, 'Ethnographical and Historical Division of Georgia,' *Georgica* 1/2-3 (1936) 62, 63-65, 66-67; P. Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merč'ule: k'art'veli mcerali meaf'e saukunisa* (Tiflis 1954) 296-399; cf. *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 1 and n. 1.

¹⁴⁹ For this march, see Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 116, 165-166, 168-169, 178; *Skizzen* 26-31; Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 271-285; L. Movsēsian, 'Histoire des rois Kurikian de Lori,' *Revue des études arméniennes* 7/2 (1927) 213-214; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 275-276, 353-357; Garitte, *Documents* 208; M. Kiessling, s. v. 'Gogarene,' *RE* 7/2. 1553-1554; Toumanoff, *Iberia*, Excursus A ('The Vitaxae of Gogarene'); *Bagr. of Iber* II, § 8-19.

¹⁵⁰ *Gugarac'*: the genitive of *Gugark'*.

¹⁵¹ *Supra* at n. 12.

¹⁵² Arm. Agath. 112/795 (*supra* at nn. 38, 39; *infra* n. 324).

¹⁵³ Gk. Agath. 135 (*supra* at n. 38; *infra* n. 324)

¹⁵⁴ Gk. Life of St. Gregory 98 = Arab. Life 114 (*supra* at n. 38; *infra*, n. 324).

¹⁵⁵ 4.50; 5.15.

¹⁵⁶ Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg 1851) 73-74; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 226; Gugushvili, *Hist. Division* 63; Toumanoff, *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 16 at n. 164.

the Vitaxa of his day 'Vitaxa of Iberia' and even 'Prince of Iberia.'¹⁵⁷ And the beautiful sardonix intaglio of the Vitaxa Arshusha II (c. 451) shows the *intitulatio* ΟΥΣΑΣ ΠΙΤΙΑΞΗΣ ΙΒΗΡΩΝ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ.¹⁵⁸ In the Georgian sources other than the Armazi monuments, one finds expressions like 'Vitaxa of Iberia'¹⁵⁹ and 'Vitaxa of Armenia,'¹⁶⁰ as well as simply 'Vitaxa.'¹⁶¹ The Armazi inscriptions reveal still another formula: νεώτερος πιτιάξης.¹⁶² It would be tempting to see in this expression a rendering of 'The Other Vitaxa' by which title the rulers of this march were, as has just been seen, designated in Armenia. However, this term appears in connection with only one personage, Zeuaches, on two stelae with the inscriptions, one in 'Armazic,' the other in Greek, commemorative of his daughter. It appears, moreover, next to the plain πιτιάξης in the Greek stele, which refers to that lady's father-in-law Publicius Agrippa and thus, obviously, in contradistinction to it. A case of co-optation, with 'junior vitaxa' meaning 'joint-' or 'co-vitaxa' must, therefore, rather be supposed.¹⁶³

11. This march of the Armenian Monarchy began as a series of marches of the Iberian kingdom of the Pharnabazid Dynasty. Vassals of the Seleucids, the Pharnabazids appear to have aided their overlords in holding in check the weakish First Armenian Monarchy of the Orontids.¹⁶⁴ The Pharnabazid effort to control the dynastic aristocracy at home through the institution of the duchies has already been studied.¹⁶⁵ This institution proved of use also in the field of foreign policy. Accordingly, the duchies along the Armenian frontier were from the Iberian point of view real margraviates, precisely what the Vitaxates were from the Armenian, and were composed of both

¹⁵⁷ *Bdešx Vrac'*: 27 (108), 28 (116), 31 (125), 62 (242), cf. 25 (98); — *išxann Vrac'*: 59 (234).

¹⁵⁸ E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie grecque* II (Milan 1825) 365-366, Pl. xlv, No. 10; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 78 (fig. 34); cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 273-277; Akinean, *Koriwn, Vark' s. Maštoci* (*Texte und Untersuchungen der altarmenischen Literatur* 1/1, Vienna 1952) 102-103. The significance of the last word will be discussed *infra* at nn. 187-190. — The gem was formerly in the Cabinet des médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

¹⁵⁹ *K'artl'isa pitiaxši: Martyrd. St. Eustace of Mc'xel'a* 3 (47).

¹⁶⁰ *Somexl'a patiaxšisa; patiaxša Somxil'issa: Juanšer* 185, 199.

¹⁶¹ *Pitiaxš*, in *Martyrd. St. Susan* 34-43.

¹⁶² Ceret'eli, *Ėp. nazodki* 50-51.

¹⁶³ It is absolutely impossible to tell whether this was an isolated instance of collegiality or the manifestation of a system. At all events, this cannot justify the tendency to generalize on the part of some specialists who would suppose the existence in Iberia of two kinds of vitaxae, 'junior' and 'senior,' 'great' and 'little (*sic*)'; cf. Ceret'eli, *op. cit.* 50 n. 5; Berjenišvili, *Ist. Gruzii* 74. All this involves something else: the tendency to treat Caucasiology as so many watertight compartments and, in this particular case, to speak of the Iberian vitaxae without any reference to their Armenian context.

¹⁶⁴ Toumanoff, *Bagr. of Iber.* I § 7.

¹⁶⁵ *Introd.* I 47-50, 103-104.

Iberian and annexed lands. Four duchies in particular faced Armenia in the north. In the west, in the Acampsis valley, the newly acquired land of Cholarzene formed one such duchy, with Tao, another acquisition, as its southern bastion. East of it, in the upper valley of the Cyrus and composed of the Iberian lands of Javakhet'i, Artani, and Kola, was the Duchy of Tsunda. Farther east, the Pharnabazids made the Iberian land of Gach'iani and two Armenian — Gogarenian — lands of Tashir and Ashots' into the Duchy of Samshvilde. Northeast of it, the land of Gardabani constituted the Duchy of Khunani facing both Armenia and Albania. The names of the last three duchies were derived from their chief strongholds. This line of frontier duchies was completed, in the west, by the Duchy of Odzrkhe marching upon Colchis and, in the east, by that of Kakhetia neighboring upon Albania.¹⁶⁶

In the second century before Christ, the change of the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean in connection with the decline of the Seleucids and the advent of Rome brought about the rise of the powerful Second Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads; and this, in turn, effected a change along the Armeno-Georgian frontier. From Pharnabazid, it passed under Artaxiad control. Tao and Cholarzene; Ashots', Tashir, and Kola; also parts at least of Javakhet'i and Artani, were all annexed to the Armenian kingdom. Strabo, who records this, calls Tao *παρωρεία τοῦ Παρναδάδρου* and the remaining lands — save Cholarzene — Gogarene.¹⁶⁷ Since Strabo speaks of Gogarene as lying across the Cyrus from Tao and Cholarzene, the Artaxiad acquisition of it must obviously have implied not only the recovery of the lands of Tashir and Ashots', but also the conquest, of parts at least, of the purely Iberian regions of Javakhet'i, Artani, and Kola.¹⁶⁸

Gogarene also included lands that had never ceased being Armenian, notably, the valleys of the three southern tributaries of the Cyrus that separate Iberia from Albania: Tsobap'or (the valley of the Berduji-Debeda), Kolbap'or (the valley of the Inja), and Dzorap'or (the valley of the Aqstafa), as well as Kangark', due south of Tashir.¹⁶⁹ Accordingly, the northern, Moschic, march created by the Artaxiads contained the Armenian princely State of Gogarene (comprising the three valleys, and Ashots', Tashir, and Kangark') and portions of the Iberian duchy of Tsunda.¹⁷⁰

As the first century after Christ saw a weakening of Armenia, which was torn between rival empires and rapacious neighbors, the Vitaxate passed

¹⁶⁶ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 4-5.

¹⁶⁷ 11.14.5, and, for the position of Gogarene, also 11.14.4. See in this connection *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 8, 10, 11, 14, 15.

¹⁶⁸ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 15, 10.

¹⁶⁹ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 14.

¹⁷⁰ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 15.

under the political influence of Iberia, which, just at that time, had come to play a considerable role in Armenian affairs.¹⁷¹ For this reason the Armazi monuments show the Vitaxae as vassals of the Kings of Iberia; these monuments themselves belonging to the necropolis of the Vitaxae (discovered in 1940) that was situated near Armazi-K'art'li, the holy city of Iberian paganism.¹⁷² That, simultaneously with this acceptance by the Vitaxae of Iberian suzerainty, they lost to the Iberian Crown the purely Iberian territories of the Duchy of Tsunda, can hardly be called in question.¹⁷³

However, the Arsacid revival of the Armenian Monarchy effected a new reversal of allegiance, and the documents of the Gregorian cycle, as well as Faustus, show the Vitaxae of the North once again within the realm of Great Armenia. The Vitaxate, moreover, appears to have been enlarged in the transaction at the expense of Iberia, not only through the renewed addition of parts of the Duchy of Tsunda, but also through the addition of the Duchy of Cholarzene. With this, the name of Gogarene acquired a second, broad, significance of, precisely, the Vitaxate, in contradistinction to the narrow sense of the Principality, and was made to include, besides it, also Cholarzene, Javakhet'i, and Artani.¹⁷⁴ The Armenian historical tradition preserved the memory of the dynasty of the Vitaxae of these early times under the name of the House of Gushar, a branch of the divine dynasty of the mythical primogenitor of the Armenians, Hayk;¹⁷⁵ while the Armazi records reveal the names of some of the Gusharid (as we may call them) Vitaxae.¹⁷⁶ A new decline of the Armenian Monarchy led, in the fourth century, to a new shift

¹⁷¹ Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 105-113; Magie, *Rom. Rule* 476, 482-486, 496-497, 498, 507-509, 513-515, 551-562, 606-610, 659-662; Debevois, *Parthia* 143-269.

¹⁷² *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 15 at n. 145; *Introd.* I 95; and, for Armazi, *ibid.* 40 n. 82.

¹⁷³ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 15 at n. 147.

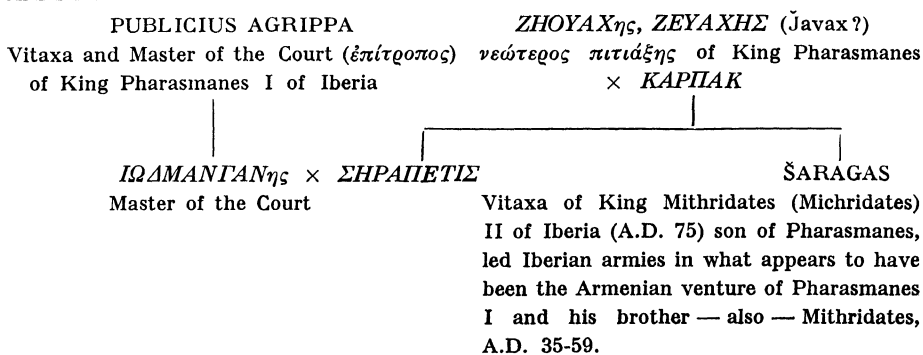
¹⁷⁴ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 15 at nn. 148-154. It is in the seventh-century *Geography* of Ananias of Širak that Gogarene is made to comprise Cholarzene (Kalarjk', i. e., K'larjk'), Artani (Artahan), and Upper Javaxet'i (Jovaxk', *rectius* J'awaxk'): *Ašxarhač'oyc' Movsesi Xore-nač'ioy* (ed. Venice 1881) 34. This work has once been attributed to Ps. Moses: cf. Abelyan, *Ist. drenvearm. lit.* I 314-326, esp. 323. Ananias also includes in Gogarene the Iberian land of T'rialet'i (T'relj'k'), the reason for this will be seen *infra* at n. 200. Cholarzene had simultaneously with Gogarene reverted to Iberia between the beginning of the first and the middle of the second century: *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 11 at nn. 93-98.

¹⁷⁵ Ps. Moses, 2.8, knows only the second, Mihranid, House of Gogarene and so ascribes to all the Vitaxae an Iranian origin; but, at the same time, according to him, all the Gogarenian lands: Kangark', Kolb, Cob, Jor, Ašoc', Tašir, as well as a part of J'awaxk', were appanages of the race of Gušar, a scion of the Haykid Dynasty; this is a tradition that is much older than his memory. See *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 14 at nn. 134, 140; and, for the Haykids, *Introd.* I 55-56.

¹⁷⁶ The following Vitaxae of the Gušarid Dynasty are revealed in the Armazi monuments :

of control along the Armeno-Georgian border. Along with the other Vitaxates, that of Gogarene severed its ties of feudal allegiance with that Monarchy in 363, passing again under the aegis of Iberia. Though momentarily constrained to return to its former allegiance in 371, Gogarene definitively abandoned it in 387.¹⁷⁷

The change of suzerainty was connected with a change of dynasty. The Gusharids of Gogarene seem to have perished in the struggle of 371,¹⁷⁸ and were replaced in the Vitaxate by a new ruling house represented by P'eroz, kinsman and son-in-law of the first Christian King of Iberia, St. Mirian (Meribanes). Mirian and P'eroz headed two lines of the House of Mihrān, one of the 'Seven Great Houses' of the Iranian empire.¹⁷⁹ It was, in fact, the victory of the Sassanids in their struggle with what remained in Caucasia of the Arsacid régime that manifested itself in the acquisition of several Caucasian thrones by several lines of the Mihranids, whose Arsacid connections were well counterbalanced by their loyalty to, and their kinship with, the Sassanids. Accordingly, one line had somewhat earlier come to the throne of Iberia — but thwarted the Iranian purpose by accepting Christianity — with St. Mirian; another now came to Gogarene, with P'eroz, who, too, became a



Also: the Vitaxae *ΑΣΠΑΥΡΟΥΚΙΣ*, *ΒΕΡΣΟΥΜΑ* (*scil.* Bar-Šauma), and the 'good Vitaxa' BUZMIHR, whose dates are unknown. There is also a mention in an inscription of a 'Vitaxa of the divine Ardašir.' If the first Sassanid is meant here, the inscription must be of the third century and must, moreover, indicate direct Iranian control of Gogarene; on the other hand, and this seems more likely to me, this inscription may be a more ancient one, referring to an Armenian Artaxiad, more particularly Artaxias II (34-20 B.C.), and thus may date from the period when not only the Iberian March, but the Kingdom of Iberia itself was within the political sphere of Armenia. See, for the equivalence of Artaxias-Artašēs-Artaxšaθra-Artašir/Ardašir, my *Orontids* I § 4 at n. 27; *Introd.* I 28 n. 46; and, for the Iberian dependence on the Second Armenian Monarchy, *ibid.* 34 and n. 68. The identity of the Kings in the above genealogy is dealt with *ibid.* 95.

¹⁷⁷ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 11 at n. 99; § 15 at n. 155; cf. *supra* at n. 55.

¹⁷⁸ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 16 and n. 161.

¹⁷⁹ For the House of Mihrān, see Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 104-105; Ehtéšam, *Iran. Achém.* 21 n. 4.

Christian, while still another replaced the older dynasty of the Armenian principedom of Gardman [§ 13.9].¹⁸⁰

A convergence of several facts and traditions makes it rather difficult to doubt the Mihranid origin of the Houses of Iberia, Gogarene, and Gardman. First, there are the onomastic data. The Iberian Mihranids, or Chosroids as they are known to the national historical tradition of Iberia, and the Mihranids of Gardman manifested a predilection for names connected with the god Mithras, who may possibly have once been the object of a family cult of the Iranian Mihrāns.¹⁸¹ Accordingly, the Chosroid genealogy shows no less than eight personages bearing these pagan theophoric names.¹⁸² And the House of Gardman, on its part, claimed descent from a Mihran, said to have been a kinsman of the Great King Chosroes II, and, what is more, actually bore the dynastic surname of Mihrakan, which is nothing other than calling itself 'Mihranid.'¹⁸³ Secondly, the three dynasties of Iberia, Gardman, and Gogarene claimed a Sassanid origin, which must have been what the Mihrāns were credited with in Caucasia. Thus, the founder of the Chosroids, St. Mirian, is given out to have been a Great King's son;¹⁸⁴ the founder of the House of Gardman is, as has just been noted, reported to have been at once a Mihrān and a member of the Great King's family;¹⁸⁵ and finally the Vitaxae of Gogarene, likewise, attributed to themselves a Sassanid origin. This is clear not only from the fact that their founder P'eroz was said to have been a kinsman of St. Mirian and a member of the Great King's family,¹⁸⁶ but also from the *intitulatio* ΠΙΤΙΑΕΗΣ ΙΒΗΡΩΝ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ shown on Arshusha II's intaglio.¹⁸⁷ The last word has, to my knowledge, hitherto remained unexplained. Not that attempts to explain it have been lacking; but they simply explained nothing.¹⁸⁸ But in this context, still another explanation presents

¹⁸⁰ The advent of the Mihranids to Caucasia is treated in some detail in *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 16.

¹⁸¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 440-441.

¹⁸² *Iberia* 17 n. 1 (= 18).

¹⁸³ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 18 at nn. 173-178, and n. 174.

¹⁸⁴ Leont. Mrov. 64 and *passim*.

¹⁸⁵ Movses Kałankatuac'i, *History of Albania* 2.17; 3.23 (ed. Tiflis, 387): **Եւ Միւրհանն, որ 'ի Սասանեան սոհմէ էր** ('And Mihrān, who was of the Sassanid house'). For the *History*, cf *infra* n. 360.

¹⁸⁶ Leont. Mrov. 68: **და მოიყვანა სპარსეთით თჳსი მიხი, ნათესავი მეფეთა, სახელისთ ეგრძე** ('And [Mirian] brought from Iran his kinsman, of the house of the Kings, named P'eroz')

¹⁸⁷ *Supra* at n. 168.

¹⁸⁸ Thus, Fr. Peeters would emend *Καρχηδών* to *Κολχιδών* on the ground that the Vitaxae held Cholarzene: *Ste Sousanik* 275-279. But Cholarzene was always a part of Iberia — Upper Iberia — and never of Colchis-Egrisi; and, at any rate, *Κόλχων* would have been the form proper. Fr. Akinean suggests that the genitive of Gogarene-Gugark':

itself which appears entirely plausible. It is that the word means what it says: — Carthage. We know that the seventh-century Armenian historian Sebēos actually referred to the Sassanids as ‘Carthaginians’ (*Kark’edov-mayec’i*).¹⁸⁹ Whatever the origin of this curious confusion,¹⁹⁰ it seems difficult not to see that it is this periphrasis that is implied in the word which has proved to be the baffling element in Arshusha II’s *intitulatio*. The legend on the intaglio can, accordingly, be read as *πιτιάξης Ἰβήρων Καρχηδ[ονί]ων* and interpreted as meaning ‘The Carthaginian, *scil.* Sassanid, Vitaxa of Iberia.’ Thirdly, some evidence preserved by Pseudo-Moses lends further support to the community of origin of the Houses of Iberia and of Gogarene, and to their descent from the Mihrāns. It is found, hidden as it were, in a telling, though odd, imbroglio. Accordingly, the Vitaxae of Gogarene are said to have been descended from Mihrdat or Mithridates, a satrap of Darius, whom Alexander placed in control of some Iberians once captured by Nabuchodonosor: — which means simply, in control of Iberia.¹⁹¹ Then, Mithridates (Mihrdat), King of Pontus is called ‘great Vitaxa of Iberia’ and made a descendant of the same satrap of Darius.¹⁹² Finally, St. Mirian of Iberia is called ‘chief of Iberia and Vitaxa of Gogarene.’¹⁹³ This imbroglio manifests a double confusion: (1) between the Vitaxae of Gogarene, indeed ‘of Iberia’, according to some formulae of *intitulatio*,¹⁹⁴ and the Kings of Iberia; and (2) between the Vitaxae and the Kings of Pontus. The first confusion must be due not only to the toponymical ambivalence involved — it did not influence what Pseudo-Moses had to say in connection with the Gusharids — but precisely to the common origin of the two houses; the second, to the fact that this origin was in the House of Mihrān, which claimed des-

Gugarac’ may have been the original of the Greek: *Koriwn* 103. This would have been what one would have liked to believe, but the distance between the two vocables, *Καρχηδών* and *Gugarac’*, is too unbridgeable to admit of this solution. See *ibid.* also other theories: Tēr-Sahakean’s that *Kaxel’i* (Kakhetia) be the basis for the Greek term — one wonders why; and the tempting reference to the fact that Plutarch speaks of Artaxata as *ἐν Ἀρμενίοις Καρχηδών*: *Lucullus* 32.3, owing to the fact that it was Hannibal who supervised its construction: *ibid.* and 31; Strabo 11.14.6. But the Vitaxae of Gogarene had absolutely no connection with the ancient Artaxiad capital.

¹⁸⁹ Sebēos, Preface 34.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. F. Macler, *Histoire d’Héraclius par l’évêque Sebēos* (Paris 1904) 156-157: the Armenian version of the apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel ‘semble identifier Carthage et le peuple de Perse’; this version is nearly contemporary with Sebēos.

¹⁹¹ 2.8, 11. — For the connection of Nabuchodonosor with Iberia, see my *Orontids* II 74 n. 4.

¹⁹² 2.11.

¹⁹³ 3.6. The term used is *arajnord*, whereby Ps. Moses designates elsewhere (2.86) the same King of Iberia and also Ezechias, King of Juda (1.23).

¹⁹⁴ *Supra* at nn.157-159.

cent from a legendary hero *Milādh*, a reminiscence, as Markwart has shown, of a royal Mithridates.¹⁹⁵ Fourthly and finally, Leontius of Ruisi symbolizes the nearly simultaneous accession of three Mihranid branches to three Caucasian thrones as the Great King's setting up of St. Mirian as King of Iberia, Armenia, and Albania.¹⁹⁶

The State which the Mihranids of Gogarene ruled differed somewhat from the point of view of geography from the State once ruled by the Gusharids. The Iberian lands of the Vitaxate, Cholarzene and parts of Tsunda, reverted to the Crown of Iberia upon the return of Gogarene to Iberian suzerainty.¹⁹⁷ More than this, two basically Gogarenian lands, Dzorap'or, with the great castle of Hnarakert, and Kolbap'or, had sometime before 342 become separate princely States, and in 363, together with Gogarene severed their feudal ties with the King of Armenia, passing to the sphere of Albania. That both were younger lines of the Gusharid house, seems difficult not to suppose. By the seventh century, however, both these States appear reincorporated in Gogarene; and in the eighth, both are parts of Gardman.¹⁹⁸ Worse still, by the mid-fifth century, two other basic Gogarenian territories, Tashir and Ashots', became, in their turn, separate principalities; though by the seventh and the eighth century, respectively, both reverted to the Vitaxate. The dynasties of these two short-lived States must have been younger branches of the by-then-established Mihranids of Gogarene.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 104 n. 1; Markwart, *Genealogie* 65-66. — The confusions of Ps. Moses caused, in turn, those of Herzfeld. The Vitaxa Pāpak of the Paikuli inscription (*supra* n. 35) is obviously not a Caucasian, but an Iranian dignitary and, to boot, a member of the imperial house, since on that inscription he precedes the Prime Minister of Iran whereas 'the Armenian and Georgian margraves ... never held so high a rank [at the Court of Iran]': Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 50 (As a matter of fact, Herzfeld would have found himself hard put to it to cite any document indicating the precedence enjoyed in Iran by 'the Armenian and Georgian margraves.'). Nevertheless he would consider Pāpak at once a Sassanid prince (a brother of the Great King Nerse), a Vitaxa of Gogarene, and a King of Iberia! For this reason he identified Pāpak with St. Mirian, and explained the King's name by the supposition that his mother might have been a Mihranid princess.

¹⁹⁶ Leont. Mrov. 64; cf. *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 17 at n. 168. — Because the Princes of Gardman acquired in the seventh century the Principate of Albania, for the Iberian historians the House of Gardman was synonymous with the House of Albania: *ibid.* § 17 at 169-172.

¹⁹⁷ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 11 at n. 99; at n. 162.

¹⁹⁸ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 14 at n. 134; 15 at n. 154; 16 at n. 163; 18 at nn. 200-205. The Princes of Jorap'or, or of Jor, and of Kolbap'or, or of Kolb, are mentioned in Faustus, 3.12 (c. 342: Manawaz of Kolb and Gorut' of Jor); 4.50 (in connection with their abandonment of Great Armenia), and in Ps. Moses, 2.8. For these regions, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 353, 354.

¹⁹⁹ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 14 at nn. 134, 139-140; 15 at n. 154; 16 at nn. 159, 163, 165. For the Princes of Tašir, see Lazarus 42, 47; Eliseus 8 (251); Ps. Moses 2.8; for their land: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 271. — Koriwn mentions Ašūša, Prince of Tašir (15.3[43]: *išzanin*

The Gogarenian Mihranids were, however, compensated for these losses by their Iberian cousins with the southeastern portion of the Duchy of Samshvilde, where their capital of Tsurtavi was situated, the southern portion of that of Khunani, and the land of T'rialet'i.²⁰⁰ The History of Leontius of Ruisi refers to the conversion to Christianity of P'eroz *and* of his men.²⁰¹ This can mean one of several things: that Leontius speaks only of the conversion of Peroz and his Iranian *retinue*, or, if he has the *people* of Gogarene in mind, then that either he exaggerates, or else the Conversion of Armenia in the day of St. Gregory the Illuminator some half-century earlier, in which, according to the documents of the Gregorian cycle, the then Gusharid Vitaxa had participated, had not involved many of his subjects.²⁰² The end of the

Tašrac'woc'... Ašušay), who was the host of St. Mesrop (Maštoc), inventor of the Armenian alphabet, after the latter's trip to Constantinople, i.e., sometime about 430: Peeters, 'Jéréemie, évêque de l'Ibérie perse (431),' AB 51 (1933) 28. In relating these events, Ps. Moses (3.60) speaks of Ašuša, Vitaxa of Gogarene, who received Mesrop in the canton of Tašir, in his principality (*yiwr išanul'iwnn 'i gawaṛn Tašray*). Fr. Peeters has thought that, since Koriwn could not have been in error on matters of nomenclature involved, his 'Prince of Tašir' must be distinct from a Vitaxa: *Ste Sousesnik* 273. But 'A[r]šuša' was a name typical of the Mihranid Vitaxae (*infra* n. 203); and the fact that Ps. Moses qualifies elsewhere (2.8) Tašir as a *sephakanul'iwn* seems to indicate that, until the time when, in Lazarus, a Prince of Tašir does indeed appear simultaneously with a Vitaxa, and is among the Armenian princes whereas the latter is counted among the Iberian, Tašir belonged to the Vitaxate. The term *sephakanul'iwn* designated the appanage of a *sepuh* or cadet of a princely dynasty: *Introd.* I 62; Adontz, *Armenija* 473-475. (The present-day significance of the term is 'property'; Markwart is inexact, in *Genealogie* 26, 65, when interpreting *sephakan* as 'allodial' instead of as 'appanged.') Very likely, thus, it belonged to the Vitaxate as the appanage of the hereditary *sepuh* (*mec/awag sepuh*: *Introd.* I 62). In this sense, Fr. Peeters must be right: Aršuša of Tašir may well have succeeded to the Vitaxate *after* the visit of Mesrop; and Ps. Moses in calling him Vitaxa already then may have been merely projecting back his subsequent title. — The Princes of Ašoc' are found in Lazarus 23, 42; and in Ps. Moses 2.8; 2.78, 82 (Tačat, Gušarid Prince of Ašoc', at the time of the Conversion of Armenia); 3.65 (Hmayeak, Prince of Ašoc', at the time of the abolition of the Armenian Monarchy, A.D. 428); for their land, see Hübschmann 365. The reference to Tačat of Ašoc' (Ps. Moses 2.78, 82) must, if true, signify that there had once been a Gušarid line of Ašoc' — and Ps. Moses regards the House of Ašoc' as Gušarid: 2.78 — that to Hmayeak (3.65) indicates that the separation of Ašoc' from Gogarene took place earlier than that of Tašir. That a house of such importance as that of Ašoc' should have been left unmentioned in Faustus, is unthinkable; it must therefore be supposed that there was indeed no dynastic continuity between Tačat and Hmayeak.

²⁰⁰ *Bagr. of Iber.* II § 16 and n. 164; cf. also *supra* n. 174 (for the Armenian inclusion of T'rialet'i in Gogarene).

²⁰¹ Leont. Mrov. 131 (*da erman misman*). The word *er*, it will be recalled, meant both 'army' and 'people': *Introd.* I 45 n. 95, to which add: Molitor, *Allgeorgisches Glossar zu ausgewählten Bibeltexten* (Monumenta biblica et ecclesiastica 6; 1952) 61.

²⁰² Gogarene, nevertheless, was evangelized almost simultaneously with Armenia. The insistence of the Armenian tradition on the apostolate of St. Gregory, or of his homonymous

Mihranid Dynasty in Gogarene came at the closing of the eighth century.²⁰³ The tragic upheaval of the period, which brought about the extinction of the Iberian Mihranids as well — first the Guaramid line and then, actually only after the turn of the century, the Chosroid²⁰⁴ — may also have been responsible for the disappearance from the historical scene of the House of Gogarene.²⁰⁵ Most of their inheritance, as also that of the Guaramids and the Chosroids, was gathered in the ninth century by the Iberian branch of the Bagratids [§ 12.9].

12. The Vitaxae, it has been seen, did not belong to the post-Arsacid period of Armenian history. The Vitaxae of Gogarene alone survived the fall of the Arsacid Monarchy, but they continued outside Armenian society, as members of the Iberian princely group. Turning now to the remaining Princes of Great Armenia, we must, so as to facilitate our enquiry, observe the triple division of them which has been proposed earlier.²⁰⁶ Accordingly, the houses which existed in Great Armenia during both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period will be taken up first; next will come those which existed only in the Arsacid period; and, finally, those which existed only in the post-Arsacid period. The simplest way of examining them is (with the exception of the Arsacids themselves) according to the alphabetical order. We begin by examining the houses of the first category.

1. The Princes Arshakuni (the Arsacids). The King of Great Armenia being largely the first among equals and, more particularly, as sovereign of the royal demesne (composed *inter alia* of parts of Ayrarat and of Carenitis in Upper Armenia) being indeed but one of the Princes, the Arsacid Dynasty of Armenia may be included in this list, but — *à tout seigneur tout honneur* — spoken of first. It survived the downfall of the Third Monarchy not only as the collateral Arsacid lines of Kamsarakan [16] and Asthianene [§ 7], treated here under separate headings, but also as the line of Arshakuni, bearing the dynastic patronymic of, and descended from the last, and indeed only, western Arsacid, Arsaces III (387-c.390). This house played a leading role in Roman Armenia and the Roman Empire down to the mid-seventh century when it is last heard of; and the imperial house of the Heraclians (610-711) was closely related to it, if indeed not an offshoot of it.²⁰⁷

nephew, in Iberia (and Albania) must, as another manifestation of the perennial confusion between the Iberian kingdom and the Iberian Vitaxate (*supra* at n. 156), in actual fact, refer to the latter: Toumanoff, *Christian Caucasica* 179 and n.309.

²⁰³ For a list of the Mihranid Vitaxae, see *infra*, Supplementary Note A.

²⁰⁴ See my *Iberia* for the Guaramid and Chosroid lines of the Iberian Mihranids.

²⁰⁵ Some problems concerning the Vitaxae of Gogarene and the presumed Diarchy of Iberia are discussed *infra*, Supplementary Note B.

²⁰⁶ *Supra* § 4.

²⁰⁷ The surviving Arsacids must have been the descendants of the Western royal line, and so settled in the Roman zone: the national historians, dealing with the Iranian zone,

It has been noted that, upon the death of Arsaces III, the Emperor, his suzerain, did not allow anyone to succeed him. This was the non-violent end of the Western Kingdom. Its territory, corresponding to the province of Upper Armenia, had claimed, as a kingdom, the name of Great Armenia and was now called by the Roman government, officially it seems, Inner Armenia. Together with the princely States it comprised, it was placed under a civil official, the *comes Armeniae*, representing the Emperor.²⁰⁸ Upper or Inner Armenia contained nine cantons or 'lands' but the number of the princely houses that were of Arsaces III's obedience was far smaller. We know only of the Mamikonids [8] in Acilisene and of the Bagratids [9] in Syspiritis; the dethroned royal house — the Arshakunis — now became the third princely house of the province, ruling, it seems, precisely their old demesne of Carenitis.²⁰⁹ The rest of the territory, being princeless, must have been under

do not know of them (Adontz, *Armenija* 123), but a goodly amount of information about them is available from both the Roman Empire and the Roman zone of Armenia (*ibid.* 123-124): Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3; *Bell. vand.* 4.28-28; *Bell. goth.* 7.31-32; John of Ephesus, *De beatis* 13; 21; Sebēos 32 (180, 188), 34 (221) — the last-named is indeed an Armenian historian, but he speaks of the epoch following the Heraclian thrust against Iran, when Roman influence made itself felt in Iranian Armenia; Eliseus 6 (156) also mentions members of the Royal House as taking part in the insurrection of 451: this may indicate that some of the Aršakunis volunteered to join the action beyond the Roman border. What is of interest is that Procopius, 2.3.32-54, in the text of the complaint of the Armenian Arsacid Princes (from *Magna Armenia*) before the Great King, twice makes them say that they are descended from Arsaces III (cf. *infra* n. 212). The collateral Arsacid branches of Asthianene and Kamsarakan, moreover, were never called Arsacids. And so, also, when Sebēos 32 (188) refers to the Aršakunis as the Emperor Heraclius' close relatives (*merjawork'*), the descendants of Arsaces III must be meant. The reference in question, by the way, is not precise enough to enable one to assert, as is sometimes done, that Heraclius was a descendant of the Arsacids, an Arsacid himself.

²⁰⁸ Procopius, *Aed.* 3.1.14-15; Ps. Moses 3.46; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 116-119; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 289. The *comitiva Armeniae* was not, apparently, instituted immediately upon the death of Arsaces III, for it is not yet mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum* (Adontz 117). The death of Arsaces occurred, according to Ps. Moses, 3.46, two and a half years after the Partition of 387. — The name of Great Armenia was, obviously, applied to that section of the once united realm because, from the moment of the Partition, each of the two rival kingdoms claimed to be *the* Great Armenia; cf. Adontz 29. Its official Roman name, after the death of Arsaces, however, seems to have been, first, *Armenia Interior* and, then, *Magna Armenia*: Stein 289; *infra* at n. 214.

²⁰⁹ Adontz, *Armenija* 120, 121, 123, 124; he must be mistaken in suggesting that every canton of Upper Armenia constituted a principality (cf. *infra* at n. 291). As for Carenitis (Karin), it is clear from Faustus, 3.44, that it was a demesne of the young Arsaces III and his brother Vologases (Vaĵaršak); there also took place the combat of King Varazdat and Manuel Mamikonean: Faustus 5.37; cf. Adontz 122-123. It will be remembered in this connection that the necropolis of the Armenian Arsacids, at Camachus-Ani, was also situated in Upper Armenia, cf. *Orontids* I 30 n.98. In the land of Carenitis was situated the city of Karin, subsequently Theodosiopolis: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 287-290. This city

the direct rule first of the Armenian Crown and Church and now the Roman State. The Imperial treatment of the Princes, on the other hand, appears to have been wholly identical with that accorded to the trans-Euphratensian Pentarchs. The Court of Constantinople at first scrupulously respected the princely rights, and a delicate coexistence of authority was achieved between the Princes and the *comes*. What followed the death of Arsaces III affected his polity rather than his dynasty.²¹⁰ This distinction between the territory which became *de facto* a mere Roman province and the vassal States can alone explain why, on the one hand, we have an edict of the Emperor Anastasius of 496 regarding the Armenian taxes²¹¹ and, on the other, we are assured by Procopius that the Princes of Inner Armenia were not, until Justinian's day, obliged to submit to Imperial taxation.²¹² The princely States of this Roman

existed there before the partition, as a village at least, as is clear from the text of the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, re-established by Garitte: see my *Christian Caucasica* 130-131. It would have been perfectly natural for the Imperial government to choose as the seat of the Roman viceroy of the newly annexed Western Kingdom the chief seat of the royal demesne, which must have served as a capital while that kingdom lasted. — Procopius also mentions Bassaces, son-in-law of the Arsacid John, who in fact led the Armenian delegation to the Great King Chosroes I (*infra* at n. 218): *Bell. pers.* 2. 3, and who later led a group of Armenian notables back to the Emperor: *ibid.* 2.21. The name of course renders the Armenian 'Vasak,' and it is Adontz's opinion that Eliseus' reference (4[120]) to a Vasak Mamikonean who was a Roman vassal, among the insurgents of 451, to which there is no parallel reference in Lazarus, is misplaced and that the Vasak of 451 is merely a memory of the Vasak (Bassaces) of 539. It may, however, be assumed that both existed and both belonged to the Mamikonids. At any rate, Lazarus, 33 (134) records the appeals of the insurgent princes of 451 as being addressed to the Emperor, to other Armenian Princes who were no longer in Great Armenia, and to the Prince of Acilisene (Ekeleac'). Now Acilisene was originally a Gregorid [§ 13.11] allod (Faustus 3.2; 4.14) and it must have passed, as part of the Gregorid inheritance to the Mamikonids. Thus the appeal recorded by Lazarus and the response related by Eliseus complement each other. All this indicates the existence of a separate (short-lived no doubt) Roman line of the Mamikonids, in Acilisene: Adontz 124-125. — The only other princely house in Upper Armenia, mentioned by Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3, as τῶν Ἀσπετιανῶν γένος is that of the Bagratuni-Aspetuni; cf. my *Orontids* II 96 n. 83.

²¹⁰ Adontz, *Armenija* 116-117; for the trans-Euphratensian Princes, see *supra* § 7.

²¹¹ *Cod. Just.* 10.17.13 (τὰ ἀρμενικὰ δημόσια).

²¹² Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3.28-39 (complaint of the Armenian Princes before Chosroes): Εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι, ὧ δέσποτα, ἐκείνου Ἀρσάκων ἀπόγονοι δς δὴ οὔτε τῆς Πάρθων βασιλείας ἀλλότριος ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, ἥνικα ὑπὸ Πάρθους ἔκειτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανῆς γέγονε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν.... Ἀρσάκης γὰρ ὁ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐξέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἅπαντες οἱ κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ μέλλοντες πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα προσήκειν τὰ τε ἄλλα βιοτεύουσιν κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ φόρον ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῇ ἔσονται. καὶ διεσώσαμεθα τὰ ξυγκείμενα ... οὐχ ἡμῖν μὲν φόρον ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν [Justinian] οὐ πρότερον οὐσαν ... Three remarks in this connection: (1) the reference to the 'abdication' of Arsaces III is a typical instance of the self-righteous

dependency were, accordingly, exactly what were those of 'Other Armenia': *civitates foederatae* — vassal States possessed of complete political and military autonomy and complete immunity from any civil, fiscal, or military interference from the Empire.²¹³

Exactly as in the case of the Pentarchs, the end of this arrangement came with Justinian, through the same legal acts and with the same contempt for the Empire's commitments. Already before August 528, Inner Armenia became officially a province, under a *praeses*, called *Magna Armenia*.²¹⁴ Then, in creating, in that year, the *magister militum per Armeniam*, placed in command of five *duces* and four legions, the Emperor proclaimed abolished the civil office of *comes Armeniae* and, thus, tacitly abrogated two princely rights: immunity from Imperial garrisons and the right to maintain their own armies.²¹⁵

euphemism of messianic cosmocracies; for the reality, see Ps. Moses 3.46. — (2) the admission of the existence of definite *conditions* regarding the Arsacid (and doubtless other princely) immunity from *any* interference, especially fiscal, in connection with *Magna Armenia's* becoming a Roman dependency. — (3) the assertion that Justinian was the first to infringe this arrangement after the peace of 532 (2.3.36-37), especially its fiscal aspect. Finally, Procopius refers, in particular (I think), to their dispossession when he makes them say, 2.3.33: *πάρεσμεν δὲ τανῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅπαντες δοῦλοι τε καὶ δραπέται γεγενημένοι, οὐχ ἐκούσιοι μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἡναγκασμένοι ὡς μάλιστα ...* One may wonder whether *δοῦλοι* in this context does not signify 'subjects,' as opposed to 'dynasts,' i.e. 'sovereigns'; cf *supra* n. 40. In *Aed.* 3.1.4-17, Procopius returns to the story of the Partition of 387, but in more detail and, so, more confusedly. His version telescopes together two events: the Partition, and the earlier co-kingship of Arsaces and Vologases; it gives wrong names to Arsaces' father and brother (Arsaces and Tigranes respectively); it supplies the Partition with a wrong chronology (cf. *Christian Caucasica* 130-131); and, of course, it repeats the pious legend of the last King's 'abdication.' But what is of importance here is the repeated reference to definite *conditions* (*ἐπὶ ξυνοθήκαις τισίν*: 3.1.12) on which the Arsacids (and, to repeat, undoubtedly the two other princely houses) accepted (after the Partition) the suzerainty of the Roman Emperor: Adontz, *Armenija* 111-112. These *ξυγκείμενα* or *ξυνοθήκαι* must be, precisely, the *foedus* (*non aequum*) which bound these Princes to the Emperor: *ibid.* 113. The distinction proposed here between annexed territories and vassal States makes it unnecessary to wonder, in connection with the law of Anastasius of 496, whether the latter might not have been only *civitates stipendiariae*, as does Adontz 116. — For an example of the spoliation of Armenia by the Roman officials, see Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3. 5-7; cf. *Bell. goth.* 7.32.7.

²¹³ The *comes Armeniae* had no regular troops under his authority: Procopius, *Aed.* 3.1. 15-16; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 117. Adontz's suggestion (119) that the Princes of Inner Armenia were, from the point of view of the Imperial government, *praesides*, under the *comes* as a vicar, I cannot think to be correct because of the parallel situation in 'Other Armenia,' where the Princes were simply what they were: vassal sovereigns, without any recourse to bureaucratic euphemism. — For Inner Armenia between Theodosius I and Justinian I, see Güterbock, in *Festgabe der jurist. Fakultät zu Königsberg f. J. Th. Schirmer* (1909) 20-29.

²¹⁴ Nov. 20 (18 March 536), cf. Nov. 8 (15 April 535); cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 289; Adontz, *Armenija* 160-175.

²¹⁵ *Supra* at n. 105.

In 532, the Princes were dispossessed and their sovereign rights abolished; this was implied, again tacitly, in the law of 18 March 536 instituting a new civil organization of the Roman zone of Armenia. *Magna Armenia* changed its official name once more and was now called First Armenia, to be ruled by a Proconsul with the rank of a *spectabilis*, residing at Justinianopolis.²¹⁶ Finally came the *coup de grâce*: the series of edicts, beginning A.D.535, which quashed the Armenian system of agnatic succession, aiming at the suppression of the last remaining power of the now 'mediatized' Princes, — their land-owning fortunes.²¹⁷ We do not know the degree of success the Emperor achieved in this undertaking; there was a revolt in 538 in First Armenia led by the Arsacid Princes, who, in the following year, appealed to the Great King for help against not only the Imperial injustice of their dethronement, but also the Imperial bureaucratic oppression that followed it — and this appeal was one of the causes of Justinian's second Persian War²¹⁸ —; but we do know that, after the age of Justinian, the Bagratids and the Mamikonids play no role in the Roman zone, being confined to their 'Persarmenian' States while the Arsacids seem to have migrated to the Empire, and, if the Heraclians be their descendants, with a vengeance.²¹⁹

The rest of the princely houses, of all the three chronological categories, belonged geographically to real Great Armenia, that overwhelmingly larger moiety of it which passed in the Partition of 387 under Iranian control. There, parallelling the Roman zone, the Princes were immediate sovereign vassals of the Sassanid emperor — the *šahrdāran* of the Iranian imperial constitution — supervised at first by the Iranian equivalent of the *comes Armeniae*, the *marzpān*. Less totalitarian and more aristocratic than the Caesars, the Great Kings never attempted to destroy the dynasts under their aegis. Subsequently, as has been noted, one of the local Princes came to be invested

²¹⁶ *Supra* at n. 107.

²¹⁷ *Supra* at n. 108.

²¹⁸ Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 3.1; cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 364. Since the leader of this insurrection, Vasak, appears to have been a Mamikonid and not an Arsacid (*supra* n. 209), Procopius very likely simplifies the story by making of it an *Arsacid* insurrection. The paucity of the dynasts in Inner Armenia must have helped to create the impression that they were all of one family.

²¹⁹ See Adontz, *Armeniĭa* 201-210 for the results of Justinian's policies in Armenia, especially in connection with the immediate influx of Armenians to the Empire. Procopius bears witness not only to the numbers of Armenians in the Imperial armed service, but also to the high esteem in which they were held and the high positions in the Empire which they occupied; cf., e.g., the case of Artabanes Aršakuni, successively *magister militum Africae*, *magister militum praesentalis*, and *magister militum per Thraciam*, whose conspiracy against his life Justinian, with something like a *parvenu's* awe before the royal birth, treated with incredible clemency: *Bell. goth.* 7.31-32.

with viceregal functions; and out of this arose the Principate.²²⁰ It must be added that from the point of view of the Princes themselves the boundaries separating the three units: Roman 'Great Armenia,' Roman 'Other Armenia,' and Iranian Armenia, hardly existed.²²¹ And so, to continue with the houses of both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period, we come next to:

2. The Princes of Akē reigning in the Carduchian land of that name, which lay between the upper valley of the Centritis and the Zabus, a wedge between the margraviates of Arzanene and Adiabene, in what was subsequently southern Vaspurakan. Their immemorial dynastic status can be elicited from the historical tradition preserved in Pseudo-Moses; they are last heard of at the beginning of the tenth century as vassals of the Artsrunis of Vaspurakan.²²²

3. The Princes Amatuni were a Caspio-Median, or Mannaeian, dynastic house from Artaz, with the city of Shawarshan (later Maku, in northeastern Vaspurakan), situated between lakes Van and Urmia (Mantiane), which subsequently ruled a State in Aragatsotn, in Ayrarat, centered in the castle of Oshakan. They were variously attributed a descent from Astyages of Media and a Hebrew descent. Dispossessed by the Arabs in 772, but still holding Artaz, they appear in the ninth century as vassals of the Artsrunis, and, in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, under the name of the Vach'utids, as Princes of Aragatsotn, Siracene, and Nig, with the great castle of Anberd, vassals of the Armeno-Georgian Mkhargrdzelis of North Armenia.²²³

²²⁰ For the institution of the Principate in Armenia and Iberia, see my *Iberia* 47-49; *supra* § 3.

²²¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 179.

²²² Ps. Moses, 2.8, though stressing according to his wont (*Introd.* I 56-58) the 'raising' of this house by the mythical King Vologeses (Vaġaršak), nevertheless places it in the same category as the unquestionable dynastic houses of Anjewac'i, Corduene, and Moxoene. It is true that he qualifies the supposititious 'first prince' of Moxoene as a brigand chief, but this seems to be rather an allegory of the Carduchian land's rugged character. On the other hand, he says that the three houses, of Anjawac'i, Corduene, and Akē, were 'of those cantons ('i noyn gawarac')' and this, in the circumstances, must mean their chieftainship of these territorialized tribes, that is, their dynastic origin. (In this sense, *Introd.* I 57 n. 125 stands to be corrected.) Eliseus, 4 (119), 5 (129), mentions Enġul, Prince of Akē and also the House of Akē (*Akēac'ik'n*) as taking part in the insurrection of 451. The tenth-century historian Thomas Areruni (for his work and its Continuation, see Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 380-390) is the last to mention his house: *History of the House of Areruni* 2.6 (ed. Tiflis 1917, 186); 3.4,29; *Contin.* 4.3. For the principedom, see Adontz, *Armenija* 321; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 344.

²²³ *Introd.* I 78 and n. 190. Also: the 505 Acts (*infra* Table X); Ļewond (for this late eighth-century author, see Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 363-369) *History* 34 (ed. St. Petersburg 1887, 144), 42 (168: migration to the Empire of Šapuh Amatuni and his son Ha-

4. The Princes Andzewats'i, of the canton of the same name with the chief castle of Kangvar, southeast of Van and northwest of Akē, were possibly a branch of the ancient Medo-Carduchian Princes of Mahkert [§ 6]. The historical tradition, at all events, lends support to their immemorial dynastic origin. Tachat Andzewats'i was Presiding Prince of Armenia, in the Caliph's obedience, in 780-782/5; but after him the house declined and was, by the ninth century, reduced to vassalage of the Artsrunis, who, after the death of the last reigning prince, Mushel, in the 860's, succeeded it in Andzewats'ik'.²²⁴

5. The Princes Apahuni were sovereign in the homonymous land in the upper valley of the Arsanias, north of Van, in what was later Turuberan. The historical tradition asserts their greatness and the Haykid origin in common with the Houses of Bznuni [§ 13.6], of Manawazean [§ 13.16], and of Orduni [§ 13.18], which signified the — probably royal — Urartian origin. They are last heard of in the mid-ninth century, when, having been dispossessed by the Qaysid emirs of Manazkert, they were obliged to settle in Vaspurakan and to accept the suzerainty of the Artsrunis.²²⁵

6, 7. The Princes Aṛawelean or Aṛuelean²²⁶ and the Princes Aṛawenean²²⁷ held territories in Ayrarat, the former being traditionally descended from the Kings of Alania (Ossetia) and the latter being, together with the Zareh-awanids [§ 13.23], a — traditionally Haykid — line of the Orontids. Both last appear in history in the seventh century.

mam, with 12,000 followers, in 791); Thomas 2.6; 3.4.24. For the Vač'utean family, see the genealogy based on epigraphic data in Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie* (St. Petersburg 1849-1851) III 99-100; Zacharias the Deacon († 1699), *Cartulary of Ioannu-vank* in Brosset, *Collections d'historiens arméniens* II (St. Petersburg 1876) 166. — In 1784, a family of Amatuni was received in the princely nobility of Georgia and in 1826 in that of the Russian Empire: *Spiski titulovannykh rodov i licam Rossijskoj Imperii* (publ. by the College of Heralds of the Governing Senate of the Empire: St. Petersburg 1892) 5-6.

²²⁴ *Introd.* I and n. 193; Lewond 37 (155), 39 (158-161); Thomas 2.6; 3.4, 8 (Atom Anjewac'i, martyred in 853), 15; *supra* § 6, for Mahkert.

²²⁵ The origin of this house is indicated in Ps. Moses 2.8; 3.32; in 3.65 Manēč Apahuni is mentioned, who also figures, in the events of 451, in Lazarus 23, 25, 36; Eliseus 2 (55), 3 (95), 4 (119). This dynasty is also mentioned in the 505 and 555 Acts (*infra* Table XI); Sebēos 18 (104); Thomas 2.6. Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 312-313; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 329-330; Grousset, *Histoire* 293; Tournebize, s.v. 'Apahouniq,' DHGE 3.915-916; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 456, 459, cf. 501-508.

²²⁶ Ps. Moses 2.8; Lazarus 23, 42, 47; Eliseus 8 (250) (P'apak Aṛawelean in the insurrection of 451); 505 Acts; Sebēos 30 (175), 35 (226); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 305. — In this connection, in *Introd.* I 57 n. 125 the erroneous 'Albania' is to be corrected.

²²⁷ Ps. Moses 1.31; cf. 2.8; Ėrstom Aṛawenean took part in the events of the Partition of 387: 3.43. The last mention (Aṛa[we]nean): Sebēos 35 (226). Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 305; Toumanoff, *Orontids* I 35 and n. 118.

8. The Princes Artsruni formed a line of the Orontid Dynasty which was settled by the Artaxiad kings on the Median border and which later claimed descent from Sennacherib of Assyria. In addition to their State of Albaca, with the chief castle of Hadamakert, in the upper valley of the Zabus, the Artsrunis appear to have held, before A.D.371, also the Vitaxate of Adiabene [§ 6]. Soon after the abolition of the Arsacid Monarchy, they acquired the Principality of Mardpetakan [§ 7], hitherto the appanage of the Grand Chamberlain; they inherited c. 867 the Principality of Andzewats'ik' [4]; between 772 and 890, they spread their rule to the whole of Vaspurakan and to the Bagratid [9] princedoms of Kogovit and of Tamorit; and in the eleventh century to the Bagratid princedom of Moxoene. In 908, with Khach'ik-Gagik Artsruni, they assumed the title of Kings of Vaspurakan. In 1021, under the double pressure of Seljuq inroads and Byzantine diplomacy, King Sennacherib-John abdicated in favor of the Emperor Basil II, receiving in compensation domains in Cappadocia, and his realm became a Byzantine province. Thereafter, having played a brief role in the formation of Armenia-in-Exile and held Tarsus of the Emperor, the House of Artsruni disappeared from history.²²⁸

²²⁸ *Introd.* I 80 and n. 194 (in the third line of the note, chaps. 30 and 35 of Lazarus are to be omitted, the reference, though the text has 'Arcruni,' being in reality to the Prince Aršaruni, i.e., Kamsarakan [14]); also Laurent, 'Un féodal arménien au ix^e siècle,' *Revue des études arméniennes* 2/2 (1922); *supra* § 6, for Adiabene. — The Arcrunis claimed to have been Christians from the days of Prince Xuran, supposedly baptized by St. Thaddaeus long before the official conversion of the 'first Christian Kingdom' under Tiridates III: Thomas 1.6 (88). *Premiers barons chrétiens* indeed! — An Arcrunid origin has been claimed for the Eastern Emperor Leo V. The Byzantine chronicle of George the Monk, on the basis of a lost work of the Constantinopolitan patriarch Nicephorus I (806-815) (cf. P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* [Oxford 1958] 179-180), asserts Leo's (Armenian) descent from the sons of Sennacherib of Assyria who fled to Armenia upon the murder of their father: ed. de Boor (Leipzig 1904) 2.780-782. This indeed was the family tradition of the Orontid line to which the Arcrunis belonged: *Orontids* I 31-33. It has, therefore, been assumed that Leo's connection was with the House of Arcruni: Adontz, *L'origine de Léon V*; cf. Markwart, *Südarmanien* 210 n. 3 (= 210-212); Alexander 126 n. 7: 'the connexion with the Armenian princely family of the Arzrunis [*sic*], however, which is clearly implied by Georgios Monachos, may well be legendary and is not proved by Georgios' assertion.' All this calls for two remarks. First, a genealogical 'legend' that is contemporaneous with the person concerned (because it is not George's assertion, but Nicephorus') is more than a legend: it is a claim; though, to be sure, it need not, for that reason alone, be more true. Quite obviously, too, this claim was not made for Leo by Nicephorus, who detested him and who, moreover, can hardly have known anything about the dynastic aristocracy of Armenia and its *chimères*; it must have come from Leo himself or his Armenian adherents. This, I submit, rather tends to make the claim respectable. The only difficulty with all this — and this is the second point — is that there is no indication whatsoever that the Arcrunis are necessarily implied in this claim, because the related House of Gnuni [14] had exactly the same genealogical tradition (as had the Vitaxae of Arzanene [§ 9] who, however, disappeared long before Leo's day). The Gnunis, moreover, had already claimed the Empire

9. The Princes Bagratuni (the Bagratids) were a separate line of the Orontids that was appanaged, while the dynasty still reigned in Armenia, with Bagraundene, at the sources of the Arsianias, in southern Ayrarat; but they claimed subsequently a Hebrew and, more particularly, a Davidic origin. By the time of the conversion of Armenia, on the threshold of the fourth century, the Bagratids appear reigning elsewhere: in Syspirtis, on the middle Acampsis, with the great castle of Smbatawan or Bayberd, and, possibly already then, in Kogovit, east of Bagraundene, dominated by the Castle of Dariunk', held by the Arsacid kings, as well as in Tamorit, at the southernmost point of Vaspurakan, in Gordyene. At that time they appear also as hereditary Coronants of the Kings of Great Armenia and as Guardians of the Moschic Mountains, and also as bearing the gentilitial title of Aspet (originally, Master of the Horse), whence the earlier surname of this house — Aspetuni. As early as in the second century a Bagratid branch seems to have removed to Iberia and to have held there, until the fifth, the Duchy of Odzrkhe. Between the seventh and the ninth century, twelve Bagratid princes held the office of Presiding Prince of Armenia (or its equivalents), four of them being decorated by the Court of Constantinople with the dignity of Curo-palate. In the Arab period, and partly in connection with the insurrection of 771-772 (in which Smbat VII, Prince of the Bagratids and Ruling High Constable of Armenia, lost his life), the Bagratids lost Kogovit, Tamorit, and their momentary control of Vaspurakan to the Artsrunis [8], but acquired from the Mamikonids [18] most of Taraun, southern Tayk', and (in 855/862) Bagraundene; from the Kamsarakans [16] (through purchase) Arsharunik' and Siracene, with the cities of Bagaran and Ani, which were to become Bagratid capitals; as well as Moxoene [§ 9], subsequently lost to the Artsrunis. In 885, the elder line of the house (descended from Smbat VII) re-established, in the person of Ashot V Bagratuni, the Armenian Monarchy, dormant from 428, as the Fourth Armenian Kingdom; and then formed, in addition to the principal branch of the Kings of Kings (after 922/4) of Ani, also the branches of the Princes of Taraun (825/6-966/7, later the Byzantine house of the Taronitae) and of the Kings of Kars (962-1067) — both abdicated

a century and a half previously. They had just lost their princely State, after the insurrection of 771-772, and been obliged to seek refuge with the Bagratids in southern Tayk', precisely on the frontier of the Empire. It is more likely that the dispossessed Gnumis, rather than the Arcrunis, who were then growing in power and importance, should have sought fortune in the Empire; and this *émigré* status would explain the comparatively modest character of Leo's beginning. (One may recall the role in the Empire of the Armenian nobles dispossessed through Justinian's oppression; cf. *supra* on the Arsacids.) Finally, had Leo V really been an Arcruni, he would not have been passed over in silence by the family historian Thomas Arcruni, or, for that matter, by other Armenian historians; but the *dégringolade* of the Gnumis explains this silence perfectly.

in favor of the Empire — as well as of the Kings of Lori and Albania (982-1081) and of Kakhetia (1029-1105) — both conquered by Georgia. The principal branch came to an end when, in 1045, the Byzantines perfidiously bullied King Gagik II into abdication in favor of the Emperor Constantine IX, granting him in compensation domains in Cappadocia and a palace at Constantinople, and then had him murdered. The younger line (founded by Smbat VII's brother Vasak) passed to Iberia after the events of 772 and there acquired the State of the Guaramid line of the royal house of the Mihranids-Chosroids; in 813, it acquired, with Ashot I, the hereditary office of Presiding Prince of Iberia, to which the Imperial Court attached the dignity of Curopalate; in 888, with Adarnase IV, it restored the Iberian Monarchy dormant from 580; in 978, it inherited the Crown of Abasgia (Colchis or West Georgia) and in 1008 (Bagrat III) it began the unification of all the Georgian lands, having assumed in 994 the title of King of Kings. This line of the Bagratids continued, subdivided, to reign until the Russian annexation of its Georgian States in the nineteenth century and has survived to this day.²²⁹

10. The Princes of Colthene, on the Siunian border of Vaspurakan, on the left bank of the Araxes, were traditionally ascribed a descent from the — Haykid — House of Siunia [25]. Actually, however, they appear to have been a Bagratid branch. This house is last heard of with the martyrdom for the Christian faith, from the hands of the Muslims in 737, of Vahan, son of Prince Chosroes of Colthene.²³⁰

²²⁹ *Introd.* I 76 and n. 187; *Bagr. of Iber.; Fifteenth-Cent. Bagr.* — The Georgian Bagratids (Bagrationi) were divided at the end of the fifteenth century into three royal houses, of Georgia proper, of Kakhetia, and of Imeretia. In the Russian Empire the several branches of these houses — the Princes of Georgia, Bagration, and Bagration of Muxrani (the first two extinct), of the House of Georgia; the Princes of Georgia and Davidov-Bagration, of the House of Kakhetia; and the Princes Bagration of Imeretia, Bagration, of Imeretia, and Bagration-Davidov (all, save the third branch, extinct), of the House of Imeretia — formed part of the princely nobility of the Empire: Prince Peter Dolgorukov, *Rossijskaja rodoslov-naja kniga* II (St. Petersburg 1855) 5-14; III (*ibid.* 1856), 3, 5-9, 17-22, 458-459, 471-474; *Spiski* 10-11, 12, 31-32, 34, 44.

²³⁰ Ps. Moses, 2.8, claims to have established that the Houses of Colthene (Goł't'n) and of Rštuni [23] were branches of the House of Siunia [25]; the geographical position of Colthene could explain in part this statement, but I confess that I am at a loss to understand why Ps. Moses connects the Rštunis with Siunia. At the same time, he speaks (2.52) of an early Bagratid prince receiving from the King of Armenia a royal appanage in the settlements of Colthene (*զմասն արքունի, որ 'ի շէնս Գողթան*). A few lines further, Ps. Moses mentions the Bagratids settling in Tamorit (Tmorik'). It could be supposed, of course, that the earlier reference in Ps. Moses to the House of Colthene applied to an earlier dynasty. The mention of the royal holding there might indicate the extinction of that dynasty and the passing of its State to the Crown, which thus may be supposed to have subsequently granted it to the Bagratids. Tamorit, at any rate, appears indeed Bagratid (*supra* at n. 229). The sources for this house include also Faustus 3.12; Sebēos

11. The Princes Dimak'sean appear divided into two lines, one reigning in Bukha, a canton of Ayrarat, just south of Tayk' (Dimak'sean of Bukha); the other in a part of Siracene, likewise in Ayrarat (Dimak'sean of Siracene). This house is not heard of after the seventh century.²³¹

12. The Princes Eruanduni were, as their dynastic patronymic asserts, Orontids, with the State, which derived its name from them, situated east of Van and north of Andzewats'ik' (in Vaspurakan); they disappeared from history after the insurrection of 451.²³²

13. The Princes Gnt'uni, traditionally ascribed a Canaanite origin and the office of Master of the Wardrobe of Great Armenia, were sovereign in Abaran, in the Kazał valley, in Ayrarat. They last appear in the tenth century, apparently dispossessed, in the vassal service of the Bagratid kings.²³³

14. The Princes Gnuni were a branch of the same Orontid line as the Artsrunis [8] and claimed, like them, the descent from Sennacherib of Assyria. Their State comprised Aļiovit, with the city of Archēsh, and Arberani, with the city of Berkri, on the northern shore of lake Van. They were enfeoffed, moreover, succeeding in this the House of Anzitene [§ 7] after 363, with the office of Seneschal (and perhaps also that of Great Butler) of Armenia. Mezezius I Gnuni was Iranian viceroy of Armenia in 518-548; Mezezius II was

18 (104); *Martyrdom of Vahan of Colthene* (for this contemporary work of Artawazd of Erašxavork', see Abeļyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 392-396); Thomas 3.29; Vardan 72; cf. Toumanoff, *Orontids* II 95; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 346; Weissbach, s.v. *Κολθηνή* RE. 2/1.1124.

²³¹ The origin of this house is, according to Ps. Moses, 2.47, non-dynastic, which is in keeping with his tendency (*Introd.* I 56-58), but the tale he tells to account for its origin is merely a play on words, typical of him and so not worth considering. In 3.43 and 45, Ps. Moses mentions Ašxadar Dimak'sean; and we may wonder whether perchance there be some connection between this house and Ašxadar, King of Alania (Ossetia) and father-in-law of Tiridates the Great. We may remember in this connection the royal Alanian descent traditionally claimed for the Araweļeans, who likewise were settled in Ayrarat, perhaps in the vicinity of the Dimak'seans. For the rest, this house is mentioned in Faustus 3.14; Lazarus 23, 30, 35, 39, 47, 78; Eliseus 5(129), 6(156), 8(250) (Hmayeak Dimak'sean was martyred for the faith in 451); Sebēos 17(101), 18(104), 35(226), 38(242). Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 301.

²³² Mentioned only in Lazarus 70 (in connection with the insurrection of 451); cf. Toumanoff, *Orontids* I 35-36, and, for the geography of their State of Eruandunik', Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 343; Adontz, *Armenija* 321. Though mentioned first only in 451, this family must, to have kept that ancient patronymic, have branched off from the Orontid stock at a much earlier epoch. This is not to say, of course, that the Orontids ever called themselves 'Orontids,' but to indicate that the *praenomen* of Orontes early on disappeared from use by that dynasty.

²³³ For the origin, see Ps. Moses 1.19; also (for the office) 2.7; 2.24. For the rest, see Faustus 4.11; Lazarus 39 (154), 42 (160), 69 (275); Eliseus 5 (129), 6 (150, 151, 156) (*Tačat* Gnt'uni martyred for the faith in 451); Sebēos 35 (226); John Kath. 295-297, 316-318; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 303, 490.

commander-in-chief of the Imperial armies in Armenia in 628-635; Mezezius III, *comes Obsequii*, was proclaimed Roman Emperor by the armies in Sicily, upon the murder of Constans II, in September 668, but was overthrown and killed at the beginning of 669. The house suffered the loss of its State to the Uthmanid and Qaysid emirs, after the insurrection of 771-772 (in which Vahan Gnuni, surnamed 'the Dagger,' lost his life), and this was the beginning of its decline. The Gnunis, then, removed to the Bagratid principedom in southern Tayk', and thence possibly to the Eastern Empire, since the Emperor Leo V (813-820) appears to have been a member of this house. Another branch settled in Vaspurakan where its members figure, in the mid-ninth century, among the vassals of their Artsrunid kinsmen. The House of Gnuni is last heard of c. 914.²³⁴

15. The Princes K'ajberuni were dynasts of the territorialized remnant of the Kashka people in western Armenia; but in the Arab period they removed to Vaspurakan and acquired there, from the Muslims, the ancient Gnuni [14] principedom of Aļiovit, on the northern shore of lake Van, upon which they imposed their own name. They appear for the last time, among the Artsruni vassals, in the mid-ninth century.²³⁵

16. The Princes Kamsarakan, also called Arsharuni from one of their prince-doms, claimed descent from the Kārin-Pahlav branch of the Iranian Arsacids and as such enjoyed the position of Princes of the Blood in Armenia. They held two prince-doms in Ayrarat: Arsharunik', with the old Orontid capital of Eruandashat and the fortress of Bagaran, and Siracene, with the city of Ani. Nerses Kamsarakan was Prince and Curopalate of Armenia, in the Emperor's obedience, in 689/690-691. The political weight of this house increased with the downfall of the Arsacid Monarchy, but it was broken after the insurrection of 771-772, when the Kamsarakans were obliged to sell their double princely State to the Bagratids [9]. After some two centuries of eclipse, the Kamsarakans seem to have risen again, as the House of the Pahlavids (Pahlawuni), whose State was centered in the Castle of Bjni, in the land of

²³⁴ *Introd.* I 80 and n. 195; also Markwart, *Südarmerien* 210, 299 n. 2; 474; and, for the Emperor Leo V, *supra* n. 228. — This house figures (in addition to the sources adduced in *Introd.* I) in the 505 and 555 Acts; Lewond 34 (151); John Kath. 252-254; Thomas 2.6; 3.4; Asolik 2.2 (see, for this early-eleventh-century author, Abel'yan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 437-442) 3.3; Vardan 77 (Vahan Gnuni was a martyr in 451; Gurgin and David were martyred in 917); Gk. List of the Rulers of Armenia (*Κτιστικής*) in Garitte, *Narratio* 405, cf. 435-436.

²³⁵ For the origin, see Iap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 135, 223, 251. Mentioned in Lazarus 39; Eliseus 5 (129) (Nerses K'ajberuni martyred for the faith in 451); Thomas 2.6. Although this house appears for the first time only in Lazarus, its immemorial dynastic origin is implied by its very name. For the territorial aspect, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 329; Adontz, *Armenija* 321 n. 5.

Nig, at the northwestern tip of lake Sevan. The Pahlavids played a great role in the last days of the Fourth Armenian Monarchy of the Bagratids and, after the abdication in 1045/6 of Gregory II Pahlawuni († 1058), *magister* and *dux* of Mesopotamia, in favor of the Emperor Constantine IX, also in Armenia-in-Exile, where the descendants of Gregory II's daughter bore the surname of Pahlawuni. Two Pahlavid branches appear to have survived to this day in Georgia.²³⁶

²³⁶ *Introd.* I 77-78 and n. 189. Also Procopius, *Bell. pers.* I.15; *Bell. goth.* 6.16, 18, 20, 26, 27, 29; 7. 13, 18, 19, 24 (cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 292 n. 1); 505 and 555 Acts; Lewond 39 (161); Gk. List of the Rulers of Armenia (*Κατωπαρχάν*) in Garitte, *Narratio* 405, cf. 440; Asojik, *Universal History* 2.2; see also Adontz, 'L'âge et l'origine de l'empereur Basile I^{er},' *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 239, 254. — For the Pahlavids, see Grousset, *Histoire* 550 ff; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 517-530; their genealogy, e.g., in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens* I (1869) cxx; M. Leroy, 'Grégoire Magistros et les traductions arméniennes des auteurs grecs,' *Ann. de l'Inst. de phil. et d'hist. orient. de l'Univ. de Bruxelles* 3 (1935) Table gén. It may seem strange that Vahram II Pahlawuni should, in his inscription of 1029 at the Marmašēn Abbey, have qualified himself as 'of the race of the Pahlavids and of the family of St. Gregory (*i c'eļē Pahlawuni, ew i zarmic' Srboyn Grigori*): K. J. Basmadjian, *Les inscriptions arméniennes d'Ani, de Bagnair et de Marmachēn* (Bibliothèque K. J. Basmadjian 2; Paris 1931) No 212 (p. 193, cf. 195 and transl. 196). The Kamsarakans and the Gregorids [§ 13.11] claimed descent from *different* Iranian houses: Kārin-Pahlav and Sūrēn-Pahlav (cf. Ps.Moses 2.27, 28). But, whatever may be said about the vague terminology indicating the kinship with St. Gregory, which may be interpreted as either collateral or direct, the fact to note is that, in the female line, the Kamsarakans were indeed descended from St. Gregory. The last male Gregorid, St. Isaac († 439) married his daughter and heiress to the Mamikonid [18] prince, Hamazasp. Their son St. Vardan II was the father of St. Susan of Gogarene and of the wife of Aršawir, Prince Kamsarakan: cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 267-268. — The Georgian Pahlavids are the Houses of P'alavandišvili and of Mxargrjeli (the Zachariads). The dynastic patronymic of the first house, when combined with their having migrated, in 1184, to Georgia from Ani (cf. Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga* III 481), which was the center of the Armenian kingdom where the Pahlavids left so many constructions and inscriptions, leaves little doubt that their genealogical tradition concerned the latter. The fact that the Pahlavids are not expressly named by that tradition tends to show, I think, that the claim is a vague memory rather than an intentional fabrication. As for the Mxargrjeli, their medieval claim was to be descended from Artaxerxes Longimanus (*Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns*, ed. Qauxč'išvili, *K'art'lis C'xovreba* II [Tiflis 1959] 110), whence their surname (*mxargrjel* = *longimanus* = *μακροχεις*). This claim is tantamount to a claim to an Arsacid origin, for the Arsacids traditionally regarded themselves as an offshoot of the Achaemenids (cf. Debevoise, *Parthia* 10). This is confirmed by the inscription, dated 1061, from the Mxargrjeli family abbey of Sinahin by 'Prince of Princes Šapuh, son of Gorbaniēl, of the House of the Pahlavids and of the Arsacids': Arch. Jean de Crimée, *Description des monastères arméniens d'Haghpāt et de Sinahin* (St. Petersburg 1863) 49. Šapuh is just a generation earlier than the first authenticated ancestor of the Mxargrjeli: cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch* 458-459. For these two princely houses in the Russian Empire — the two P'alavandid branches (Palavandov and Amirejibi [cf. Dolgorukov III 479]) and the three Mxargrjelid branches (Argutinskij-Dolgorukij [= *mxargrjel*], Pavlenov, and Magalov) — see *Spiski* 69-70, 7,

17. The Princes Khorkhoṛuni, bearing the gentilitial title of Małkhaz and traditionally ascribed the descent from the divine House of Hayk, as well as the office of Commander of the King's Bodyguard, were dynasts of the territorialized remnant of the Hūrrian nation — Khorkhoṛunik' or the Małkhazdom — which was situated in the valley of the Arsánias, northwest of lake Van. This house disappeared from history in the Arab period.²³⁷

18. The Princes Mamikonean (the Mamikonids) claimed descent from the Emperors of China and bore the gentilitial title of Chenbakur, but appear to have been the immemorial dynasts of Tayk', on the Armeno-Georgian confines. In the Monarchy of Great Armenia, they were invested with the hereditary office of High Constable. By the fourth century, the Mamikonids had acquired a moiety of Taraun, in later Turuberan, centered in the great castle of Ołakan on the Arsánias; and in 439 they inherited, through the marriage of Hamazasp I, Prince of the Mamikonids, with Sahakanoysh, daughter and heiress of St. Isaac, the Gregorid [§ 13.11] chief prelate of Armenia, three Gregorid principalities: the other moiety of Taraun, centered in the city of Ashtishat, Bagrauandene, and Acilisene. The eldest son of this marriage, St. Vardan II led the insurrection of 451 and lost his life in it. Besides Manuel the Mamikonid, who ruled kingless Armenia in 377/8-385/6, seven Mamikonid princes held the Principate of Armenia between 485 and 750, one of them, Hamazasp II (655-658), invested by the Court of Constantinople with the dignity of Curopalate. Hamazasp II acquired in 655 the Principality of Bznunik' from the House of Rshtuni [23]. The following Byzantines may be considered Mamikonids: Artabasdos, *comes Obsequii*, Curopalate, and son-in-law of the Emperor Leo III, who was Roman Emperor (conjointly with his elder son Nicephorus) from July 742 to 2 Nov. 743; the family of another Artabasdos, including his two grandchildren, the Empress Theodora († 867), wife of the Emperor Theophilus (829-842), and Caesar Bardas († 866); as well as the House of Musele-Crinites, to which belonged Theophilus' son-in-law Caesar Alexius Musele. After the insurrection of 771-772 (in which Samuel, Prince of the Mamikonids, perished) the house lost most of its princedoms. In the course of the eighth century, most of Taraun and southern Tayk' were seized by the Bagratids [9]; northern Tayk' fell to the Iberian Guaramids; southern Arsharunik' with the Castle of Artagerk'

6-9, 54. It is important to bear in mind, however, that, according to Vardan 138, the Mxargjelis, or Zachariads as the Armenians called them, were of Kurdish origin and recent Christians.

²³⁷ *Introd.* I 78-79 and n. 191; Ļap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 256; Adontz, *Armenija* 400 (*małxaz* possibly going back to Urartian days and being related to the Assyrian *malik*). Also: 505 and 555 Acts; Sebēos 6 (76), 20 (109-112), 22 (118), 29 (165), 32 (185). Xoren Xorxoṛuni fell a martyr for the faith in 451: Lazarus 39; Eliseus 6 (155).

(once belonging to the Kamsarakans [16]) and Bznunik' were taken by the Qaysid emirs; and, in 855/862, Bagraundene was violently wrested from the Mamikonids by the Bagratids. Acilisene must have been lost in the age of Justinian. But the Mamikonids succeeded in remaining sovereign, under vague Byzantine suzerainty, in the southwestern part of Taraun, round the fortress-city of Arsamosata, and in the neighboring Arzanenian land of Sasun, i.e., in the middle valley of the Arsaias, until their dispossession by the Shah-Armen in 1189/1190 and their migration to Armenia-in-Exile, in Cilicia. Two Georgian princely houses, still extant, deduce their descent from the Mamikonids. A branch of one of them, that of the Liparitids-Orbeliani, returned to Armenia in 1177 and formed the third dynasty of Siunia [25], reigning till the fifteenth century.²³⁸

19. The Princes Mandakuni, reigning in the canton of Arshamunik', in Turuberan, appear to have been the dynasts of a remnant of the Mannean (Manda) enclave in western Armenia. The Manda and the Sala peoples are mentioned as neighbors in the Hittite records, and so are, in the Armenian sources, the Houses of Mandakuni and of Sĭkuni [26]. John Mandakuni was the Katholikos of the Armenian Church at the end of the fifth century; thereafter, this house disappeared from history.²³⁹

²³⁸ *Introd.* I 77 and n. 188, 101-103; also: Grousset, *Histoire* 331 n. 2, 373-374, 607-608, 632 n. 3; Laurent, *Arménie passim*; J. Muyldermans, *Le dernier prince Mamikonien de Bagrévand* (Vienna 1926). The later Mamikonids figure prominently also in the 505 and 555 Acts; Lewond, Thomas, Vardan, Matthew of Edessa, Kirakos of Ganja, etc. — The two Mamikonid princely houses of Georgia and the Russian Empire are the Liparitids and the T'umanids. The former appeared in Iberia c. 876, was invested with the office of High Constable of Georgia; returned in the main branch to Armenia in 1177 and reigned as the Third Dynasty of Siunia [25] from c. 1200 to the mid-fifteenth century; and was subdivided in the remaining, Georgian branch (Jambakur[ian = *čēnbakur*]-Orbeliani, Baratov, Salagov, Kaxaberije-Č'ijavaje [extinct], and possibly Abašije): my *Fifteenth-Cent. Bagr.* 176, 178-180; *Spiski* 36-37, 67-68, 12-14, 79, 98, 1-2; cf. Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga* III 475-476, 467-468. The T'umanids removed to Georgia from Armenia-in-Exile (Cicilia) after the twelfth century: *Fifteenth-Cent. Bagr.* 179 n. 59; also Zacharias the Deacon, *History of the Saffarids* 48, in Brosset, *Coll. d'hist. arm.* II 119-121; *Spiski* 83-85; cf. Dolgorukov III 483; *Geneal. Handb. d. Adels* 3 (1953) 471.

²³⁹ Lazarus 47, 97, 99, 100; Eliseus 5 (129) (P'arsman Mandakuni took part in the insurrection of 451), 8 (251); Ps.Moses 2.8; 2.76, 77. In his first reference Ps.Moses ascribes a non-dynastic origin to this house, which is based on a play on words that has no worth whatsoever. It is significant, however, in view of what has been said above, that he mentions the Mandakunis in the same breath as the Sĭkunis. In his second reference, he claims that Artawazd Mandakuni and his house were exterminated by the King of Armenia in the third century. This house, obviously, did not long survive the events of 451, so that to Ps.Moses it appeared as long extinct. For the position of princes of the Manda people, see Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 136-140; Adontz, *Armenija* 311, 419; also Tournebize, s.v. 'Arschamouniq,' DHGE 4.744; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 327. For the Katholikos John Mandakuni, cf. Garitte, *Narratio* 426; *ὁ Μαντακωννῆς* in the Gk. List of the Katholikoi, *ibid.* 404.

20. The Princes of Moxoene (see § 9).

21. The Princes Paluni reigned in the canton of the same name, which was a territorialized remnant of the Pala or Bala people of the Hittite records, situated between Asthianene and Taraun; another such remnant being the neighboring principedom of Balabitene [§ 7]. With Palunik's becoming, as it seems, a part of the Mamikonid [18] Principality of Taraun, this house migrated to Vaspurakan, where it imposed its name on its State in that province. It is last heard of in 505/506.²⁴⁰

22. The Princes Țop'sean were traditionally a cadet branch of the royal house, being descended from a King of Armenia's subsequent marriage with a Roman lady named Rufa. From the circumstances of the story reported in Pseudo-Moses it is possible to establish that the King in question was Sohaemus (164-after 175), who appears to have been of the house of the Priest-Kings of Emesa, though possibly also related to the Arsacids. They are last heard of in the insurrection of 451.²⁴¹

23. The Princes Țshtuni were sovereign over the homonymous canton on the southern shore of lake Van, with the capital city of Vostan, the island fortress of Ałt'amar, and Thospia, once the Vannic capital of Tushpa, as well as over the principedom of the extinct Bznunis [§ 13.6] across the lake. Traditionally ascribed the divine Haykid origin, the Țshtunis, whose dynastic patronymic is connected with the Vannic royal name of Rusha (Rusa) and whose State occupied the nucleus of the old Vannic empire, appear to have been of royal Urartian origin. Theodore Țshtuni was Ruling High Constable

²⁴⁰ Lazarus 23 (92), 36 (142), 39 (154); Eliseus 3 (95), 4 (119), 6 (155) (Artak Paluni martyred in 451); 505 Acts. This house must have disappeared soon after the sixth century, for Ps. Moses does not know it. Also: Țap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 127-136; Adontz, *Armenija* 311; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 345. Țap'anc'yan 129 cannot be right in thinking that there existed the principedom of Pałanakan-tun (cf. Lazarus 10 [31]: John of Pałanakan-tun [*Yohan 'i Pałanakan tanēn*], one of the scholars of Maštoc'-Mesrop's *entourage*): it was merely a toponym.

²⁴¹ Ps.Moses 2.64. The King is called by him 'Tigranes,' which is erroneous; but he gives, in this connection, an important synchronism when he tells us that the King was restored by Lucius Verus. The whole story may be built upon another of Ps.Moses' facile, and incorrect, plays on words (Rufa = Țop'sean). But, if there be any truth in it, it must be clear that the King in question was Sohaemus, who was placed on the throne of Armenia by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and as a result of the latter's campaign in the East, in 164, and who was c. 175 restored on that throne by Martius Verus; cf. Magie, *Roman Rule* 661, 665; Debevoise, *Parthia* 246-249, 252-254; Asdourian, *Arm. u. Rom* 111-116 (different dates). Ps.Moses, or his source, obviously confused the two Veri. Sohaemus, to judge by his name, appears to have belonged to the dynasty of Emesa, though there are indications of his being related to the Arsacids. For Ps.Moses, to be sure (*Introd.* I 58) the King and his children by Rufa are Arsacids; he also mentions their cadet branches settled in Gordyene. The Țop'seans are mentioned in the insurrection of 451 by Lazarus 47; Eliseus 3 (251).

of Armenia, with the Roman title of Patrician, in 638-c.645, and then, having concluded in 653/4 the treaty of protectorate with the Caliphate, Presiding Prince of Armenia, in the Caliph's obedience, till his downfall in 655. Thereafter began the decline of this house. Bznunik' was lost to the Mamikonids [18] immediately; later, ʔshtunik' passed to the Artsrunis [8]; and the dynasty itself became extinct during the Arab period.²⁴²

24. The Princes Saharuni held sovereign rights over the land of that name in Ayrarat, on the border of Siracene, which was centered in the city of Mren. David Saharuni was Presiding Prince of Armenia in 635-683 and was decorated by the Imperial Court with the dignity of Curopalate. Nothing is known of this house after him.²⁴³

25. The Princes of Siunia or Sisakan (the Princes Siuni) were the immortal dynasts of that half-Albanian province of Great Armenia and, consequently, regarded as of the House of Hayk. Vaḷinak of Siunia momentarily acquired, in the fourth century, the Vitaxate of Arzanene [§ 9]. Vasak I was the Iranian viceroy of Armenia, c. 442-451; and Philip was Presiding Prince, 574-576. In 572, Siunia briefly seceded, with the connivance of the Court of Ctesiphon, from the rest of Armenia. In 963, Smbat II assumed the title of King of Siunia. In the course of the ninth century, the dynasty became divided into two lines: of Vayots-dzor and of Geḷarkuni; in the following century, the elder line became extinct into the younger; and, in the eleventh, the entire Siunian succession passed through adoption to the House of Gardman-Albania [§ 13.9], itself a Siunid branch. From about 1200 to the mid-fifteenth century, Siunia was ruled by its third dynasty, a branch of the Mamikonids [18], that of the Liparitids or Orbeliani, which had long been established in Iberia.²⁴⁴

26. The Princes Sḡkuni or Slkuni were the dynasts of the territorialized remnant of the Sala people of the Hittite records, in Turuberan, and close neighbors of the Manadakunis [19]. They last appear in history in the insurrection of 451.²⁴⁵

²⁴² *Introd.* I 79 and n. 192; *supra* n. 230; (add for the city of Tuṣpa-Tosp-Θωσπία) Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 476. Also — among the sources — 505 Acts; Sebēos 35 (226-227); the Gk. List of the Rulers of Armenia (ʔογοστοννής) in Garitte, *Narratio* 405, cf. 437-438.

²⁴³ Faustus 3.12 (the historian belonged to this house); 3.14; 4.11; 5.35; Lazarus 69, 78 (K'ajaḡ Saharuni fell a martyr in 451); Eliseus 5 (129: Karēn Saharuni took part in the insurrection); Sebēos 29 (166); the Gk. List of the Rulers of Armenia (Σαρωνής) in Garitte, *Narratio* 405, cf. 436-437; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 306. The early disappearance of this house must explain why Ps.Moses does not seem to know it.

²⁴⁴ *Introd.* I 81-82 and n. 197; also 505 Acts; Sebēos 1 (40); Moses Kaḡ.; Vardan; Stephen Orbelean; cf. *supra* at n. 238. — Siunia = Arm. Siwnik'.

²⁴⁵ Eliseus 5 (129: Ayruk Slkuni took part in the insurrection of 451); Ps.Moses 2.8, 77, 84 (supposed Mamikonid acquisition of the Sḡkuni State under Tiridates the Great); 3.20;

27. The Princes Vahewuni or Vah(n)uni were traditionally descended from the Haykid Vahagn, the Heracles of Armenian paganism, and reigned as High Priests of pre-Christian Armenia in the part of Taraun which was centered in the holy city of Ashtishat, with its celebrated temple of Vahagn. Their connection with the Orontid temple of the Sun and of the Moon at Armawir and the origin in common with the Araweneans [7] and the Zarehawanids [§ 13.23], remembered in the historical tradition, must indicate their Orontid origin. At the conversion of Armenia, the temple-state of Ashtishat passed to the patriarchal dynasty of the Gregorids [§ 13.11], and the Vahewunis appear as ruling a State in Ayarat, until their migration, in the Arab period, to Vaspurakan. In the mid-ninth century, they figure among the vassals of the Artsrunis and are last heard of in 906.²⁴⁶

28. The Princes of Vanand held as their principality this canton in Ayarat, between the Akhurean and the upper Cyrus, on the Iberian confines. They last appear in history in the seventh century.²⁴⁷

29. The Princes Varazbnuni reigned in the canton of the same name in the Hurazdan valley west of lake Sevan, in Ayarat. The historical tradition ascribes to them the descent from the divine dynasty of Hayk, implying their immemorial dynastic status, as well as the office Master of the Hunt of Great Armenia. Having suffered the loss of their State, in the Arab period, the

Ps. Moses, 2.8, professes his uncertainty about the Haykid origin of this house; yet their dynastic principship of the Sala remnant appears indubitable: Լաբ'անց'յան, *Xajasa* 136-140; *supra* at n. 239.

²⁴⁶ For their traditional origin, see Ps.Moses 1.76; 2.8 (Vahagn was the father of Arawan, from whom the Araweneans are descended, and great-grandfather of Zareh, the founder of the Zarehawanians); 2.14 (for their connection with the temple of Aštišat); and (for their connection with the temple of Armawir) 2.86; also 2.88. This is to be an addition to my *Orontids* I. It would, of course, be only natural that the High Priesthood of Armenia should have been vested in a branch of the royal house; and, in fact, we know of Mithras, brother of Orontes IV, who was the priest of the Sun and the Moon at Armawir: *ibid.* 9.

For the cult of Vahagn at Aštišat, cf. Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 31-35; Carrière, *Huit sanctuaires* 17, 19. Also Lazarus 23, 24, 36; Eliseus 2 (55), 3 (95), 4 (119), 5 (129); 505 and 555 Acts; Sebēos 6 (76), 7 (79), 11 (90), 13 (92), 30 (175), 34 (227); Thomas 2.6; 3.2 (Abu-Isaac Vahewuni martyr in 852), 4, 24, 32; *Contin.* 4. 3; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 310. — Carrière, 22-23, would consider the Vah(n)unis as a figment of Ps.Moses's imagination on the ground that Agathangelus does not mention them; but then Agathangelus does not mention most princely houses. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363, would consider 'Vahewunik' a mere variant of 'Hawenunik', a canton in Ayarat; yet the Acts of the Council of Dvin of 555 mention both a Prince Vahewuni and a Prince Hawenuni [§ 14.7].

²⁴⁷ Faustus 3.12, 14; Lazarus 23, 39, 42, 71, 83, 94; Eliseus 6 (151) (several members of this house took part in the insurrection of 451); 505 and 555 Acts; Sebēos 35 (226); also Adontz, *Armenija* 299, 300; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363-364; Garitte, *Documents* 229.

Varazhnunis settled in Vaspurakan as vassals of the Artsrunis, and there they last appear with the *marzpan* Isaac Varazhnuni († 1000/1).²⁴⁸

13. The houses which existed in Great Armenia during the Arsacid period, but not thereafter, include all those already examined in connection with the Vitaxae and the Vitaxae themselves. These and the others belonging to the same category are now listed alphabetically.

1. The Vitaxae of Adiabene (see § 6 and 12.8).

2. The Vitaxae of Arzanene (see § 9).

3. The Princes of Asthianene (see § 7).

4. The Princes Bagean are mentioned but once as represented by Prince Kishkēn who took part in the embassy sent by King Arsaces II to the Roman Emperor, c. 361.²⁴⁹

5. The Princes of Balabitene (see § 7).

6. The Princes Bznuni were the dynasts of the homonymous land on the north shore of lake Van to whom the historical tradition ascribes the Haykid origin in common with the Houses of Apahuni [§ 12.5], Manawazean [16], and Orduni [18], which in this case signifies Urartian — probably royal — origin. This dynasty became extinct with the execution of the last Prince, Dat'abē, under King Chosroes II of Armenia, for passing to the side of the Great King in the Roman-Iranian war of 337-363.²⁵⁰

7. The Princes of Corduene (see § 9).

8. The Princes of Dzorap'or (see § 11).

9. The Princes of Gardman reigned in the upper valley of the Shamkor river, between lake Sevan and the Cyrus, in the province of Otene, and were traditionally ascribed a Haykid origin and, consequently, immemorial dynasts. In 363, the Prince of Gardman left the obedience of the King of Armenia passing into the Albanian political sphere. Soon thereafter the First Dynasty of Gardman was replaced by the Second, that of the Mihranids. This dynasty came to play a dominant role in kingless Albania and in 628 Varaz-Gregory of Gardman was appointed by the Emperor Heraclius to be the Presiding Prince of Albania, which office remained in his house. With the death in 821 of Varaz-Tiridates II, the Principality of Gardman and the

²⁴⁸ The Haykid origin is stressed by Ps.Moses 1.12; 2.7 (the office); 2.11. This outweighs the fact that the Varazhnunis are not found in Faustus, Lazarus, and Eliseus and first appear in the 555 Acts; also: Sebēos 35 (226); Thomas 2.6; 3. 4, 8 (Mleah Varazhnuni martyr in 853), 18, 25; Matt. Ed. 1.32; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 303, 490; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 365.

²⁴⁹ Faustus 4.11 (*Kiskēn, nahapetn Bagēnic*). The name seems derived from *bag(a)*, which may suggest an Orontid origin; *Orontids* II 89-90.

²⁵⁰ Ps. Moses 1.2; 2.8; also 2.62; 3.2; Faustus 3.8; cf. Ĭap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 256; Hübschmann, 328-329.

claims to the Principate of Albania passed, through the marriage of his daughter Spram with Atrnerseh, son of Sahl, to the Third Dynasty of Gardman-Albania, which was of Siunid [§ 12.25] origin. In the eleventh century, this house succeeded, through adoption, to the royal house of Siunia, but used the title of Kings of Albania (or of P'arisos), becoming extinct c. 1166 into the House of Khach'ēn, which was its younger branch and which seems to have disappeared from history after the thirteenth century.²⁵¹

10. The Vitaxae of Gogarene (see § 10-11).

11. The Gregorids were traditionally ascribed the descent from the Iranian house of Sūrēn-Pahlav, and through it from the Iranian Arsacids, and were the family of the Apostle of Armenia, St. Gregory the Illuminator, and of his descendants, holding quasi-hereditarily the position of chief prelates of the Church in Armenia. Upon the Christianization of Armenia at the turn of the fourth century the Gregorids acquired the temple-state of Vahagn at Ashtishat, in Taraun, from the House of Vahewuni [§ 12.27], the temple-state of Anaitis at Erez, in Acilisene, the Principality of Bagraundene, and various other lesser domains, which thenceforth composed the patriarchal princely State. This State passed through marriage to the Mamikonids [§ 12.18], upon the extinction of the Gregorids with the death of St. Isaac, Bishop of Armenia, in 439.²⁵²

12. The Princes Habuzhean make their unique appearance in history with Vrkēn who, together with the only-known Prince Bagean [4] and other princes, was sent by Arsaces II on an embassy to the Emperor c. 361.²⁵³

13. The Princes of Ingilene and Anzitene (see § 7).

14. The Princes of Kolbap'or (see § 11).

15. The Princes of Mahkert (see § 6).

16. The Princes Manawazean reigned in the territory of the fortress-city of Mana(wa)zkert in the upper valley of the Arsanias, north of the State of the House of Bznuni [6] and west of that of the House of Apahuni [12.5], together with which two houses they traditionally formed one — and celebrated — line of the divine House of Hayk; they were, accordingly, of Urartian, probably royal, origin. The Manawazeans perished in the mid-fourth

²⁵¹ *Bagr. of Iber.* § 17-18 and *supra* at nn. 180-185.

²⁵² Faustus *passim*; Lazarus, esp. 14 (origin) and 18 (extinction and Mamikonid succession); Ps. Moses 2.27, 28 (origin); 3.51 (extinction and Mamikonid succession); Ps. Moses 3.51 refers to the *pahlawik*, but this is obviously an epithet rather than a definite surname, *pahlav* (= 'Parthian') being the generic term for those of the Seven Houses of Iran which claimed Arsacid origin: Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 103. Also: Adontz, *Armenija* 124-125, 310-311; (for the principdoms) Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 286, 325-327, 363; (for the two temple-states) Carrière, *Huit sanctuaires* 16-17, cf. 19.

²⁵³ Faustus 4.11 (*Vrkēn nahapetn Habuženic'*).

century in the course of a bitter struggle with the related House of Orduni [18].²⁵⁴

17. The Princes of Mardpetakan (see § 7).

18. The Princes Orduni or Uorduni were sovereign at Uordoru in Phasiane, in the upper valley of the Araxes, in Ayrarat. They were traditionally ascribed the Haykid origin in common with the Bznunis [6] and the other Urartian dynasties. In the mid-fourth century, their family feud with their kinsmen, the Manawazeans [16] resulted in the extinction of both houses. Manag of Phasiane, who took part in the royal campaign against the Vitaxa of Arzanene sometime between 337 and 342, must have belonged to this house.²⁵⁵

19. The Princes of Otene were the dynasts of the greater part of the province of that name, on the Albanian frontier of Great Armenia and were traditionally descended from Hayk and, accordingly, immemorially dynastic. In 363, the Prince of Otene severed his feudal ties with the King of Great Armenia and passed to the sphere of Albania, where his dynasty remained until A.D. 922, when the last Prince, Moses of Otene, was blinded by Ashot II, Bagratid King of Armenia, and Otene was annexed.²⁵⁶

20. The Princes of Greater Sophene (see § 7).

21. The Princes of Lesser Sophene (see § 7).

22. The Princes of Zabdicene (see § 9).

23. The Princes of Zarewand (-Zarehawan) and Her (the Zarehawanids) belonged to the same Orontid, traditionally Haykid, line as the Princes Arawenean [§ 12.7] and Vahewuni [§ 12.27], though they may also have been a subdivision of the Artsrunis [§ 12.8]. The three cantons they ruled, the last-named with the Castle of Ampriotik, were situated on the northwest shore of lake Urmia, next to the Artsrunid principedom of Albak. The last mention of this house concerns Surik, Prince of the Valley of Her, who was among the princes sent on a mission to the Roman Emperor by Arsaces II of Armenia c. 361.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Ps. Moses 1.2; 2.8 (origin); 3.2 (extinction); Faustus 3.4; cf. Hübschmann, 449-450; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 78; Piotrovskij, *Vanskoe Carstvo (Urartu)* (Moscow 1959) 31,63: the name of the city of Manazkert (so often given in textbooks in the corrupt form Mantzikert) is derived from that of the Urartian king Menua.

²⁵⁵ Ps. Moses 1.2; 2.8 (origin); 3.2 (extinction); Faustus 3.4. The latter, 3.4, and Ps. Moses 2.8, state that the principedom of Orduni was in the valley of Phasiane (Basean, Basēn).

²⁵⁶ Arm. Agath. 112/795; Gk. Agath. 135; Arab. Life of St. Gregory 86; Ps. Moses 2.8; Faustus 5.13; John Kath. 301-304. Otene = Arm. Uti.

²⁵⁷ Arm. Agath. 112/795; Gk. Agath. 135; Gk. Life of St. Gregory 98; Arab. Life 86; Faustus 4.11 (*Surik nahapetn Hrsijoroy*); cf. Toumanoff, *Orontids* I 35 and n. 118 (35-36); Garitte, *Documents* 213-214, 238; Markwart, *Ēranšāhr* 109-110, 117; *Südarmenien* 205 n. 1 (205-207), 555-556; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 260-261, 338.

14. To the last and third category belong those houses which existed only in post-Arsacid (and subsequent) times. The appearance in a dynasticist society with its closed princely caste of new princely houses can generally mean only the formation under different names of new offshoots from the old stocks. In some cases the origin of the houses belonging to this category is discernable, in others it is not. The following is a list of them.

1. The Princes Abelean reigning in the homonymous canton in Ayrarat, situated on the left bank of the middle Araxes, and traditionally invested with the office of Master of the Granaries of Great Armenia, appear to have been an offshoot of the Kamsarakan dynasty [§ 12.16]. They are last mentioned in 555.²⁵⁸

2. The Princes of Ashots' (see § 11).

3. The Princes Dashtakaran were sovereign in Sacasene, in the province of Otene, and are last heard of in the seventh century.²⁵⁹

4. The Princes Dziunakan, ruling a State in Ayrarat and invested according to tradition with the office of Master of the Summer Palaces of Great Armenia, are presumable Kamsarakan [§ 12. 16] cadets and are last mentioned in 555.²⁶⁰

5. The Princes Ėntsayats'i reigned in Ėntsayats'- or Andzahi-dzor, with the Castle of Kotor, in Vaspurakan, which appears to have been an appanage of the Mardpets [§ 7], and so they may have been a cadet branch of the House of Mardpetakan. They are first and last heard of in the insurrection of 451.²⁶¹

6. The Princes Gabelean were sovereign in the land of that name in Ayrarat, on the right bank of the middle Araxes, across the river from the Abeleans [I], together with whom they are frequently mentioned in the monuments, and were, according to tradition, invested with the office of Master

²⁵⁸ Lazarus 23, 30, 36; Eliseus 4 (119: <g>abeļēnic') (Gazrik and Artēn Abelean took part in the insurrection of 451); 555 Acts; Ps. Moses 2.7: ascribes to this house a non-Haykid origin and projects it and its office to the time of the mythical King Vologases (Vaļaršak); he, moreover, mentions an Abelean at what must be the Artaxiad epoch: 2.60. Yet Faustus does not know this house. The non-Haykid origin need not imply a non-dynastic one, simply because the reverse is true; the Arsacids indeed were admittedly non-Haykids. This may support the theory of the Kamsarakan origin; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 301, also 490; and, for the principdom, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363, 394; Garitte, *Documents* 194.

²⁵⁹ 505 Acts; Sebēos 25 (227: Varaz-Nerseh Daštakaran); Moses Kaļ. 2.32 (Dastakerayn, var. Dastakerac'n); cf. Ļap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 66.

²⁶⁰ Lazarus 23 (Vrēn Jiwnakan in the insurrection of 451); 555 Acts; Ps. Moses 2.7: ascribes a non-Haykid origin to this house (*supra* n. 258), but mentions its beginnings and the creation of its office together with those of the Hawenunis [7] and the Spandunis [9]; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 305, 490.

²⁶¹ Lazarus 39; Eliseus 5 (129), 6 (151, 156) (Arsenius Ėncayac'i was martyred in 451); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 321; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 205 n. 1, 313; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 344, 400; *infra* n. 305.

of the Palace of Great Armenia. Like the Abeļeans, they seem to have been a junior branch of the House of Kamsarakan [§ 12.16]. In the Arab period, having lost their State, the Gabeļeans removed to Vaspurakan where they last make their appearance among the vassals of the Artsrunis in the mid-ninth century.²⁶²

7. The Princes Hawenuni, according to tradition Grand Faulconers of Armenia, ruled the homonymous canton in Ayrarat on the left bank of the middle Araxes, east of Abeļeank', and seem to have been, like the Abeļeans [1] and the Gabeļeans [6], a cadet branch of the House of Kamsarakan [§ 12.16]. They removed to Vaspurakan in the Arab period, having lost their State, and there appear, at the end of their historical existence, in the mid-ninth century, as vassals of the Artsrunis.²⁶³

8. The Princes Koļean make their sole appearance in the insurrection of 451.²⁶⁴

9. The Princes Spanduni ruled a State in Ayrarat and were, apparently, still another branch of the Kamsarakans [§12.16]. They disappear from history after the seventh century.²⁶⁵

10. The Princes of Sruandzit are mentioned only in the person of Garegin of Sruandzit who took part in the insurrection of 451.²⁶⁶

11. The Princes of Tashir (see § 11).

12. The Princes Trpatuni or Truni reigned in Atrpatunik' or Trpatunik', in Vaspurakan, where they are last heard of in the mid-ninth century among the vassals of the Artsrunis.²⁶⁷

²⁶² Lazarus 82; Eliseus 3 (95), 5 (129) (Gabaļ and Xosrov Gabeļean in the events of 451); 505 Acts; Thomas 2.6; 3.4; Ps. Moses 2.7: mentions this house's non-Haykid beginnings (*supra* n. 258) and the creation of its office, together with those of the Abeļeans [1]; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 301, 490; and, for the principdom, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363, 368; Garitte, *Documents* 208.

²⁶³ 555 Acts; Ps. Moses 2.7; ascribes to this house the same non-Haykid origin (*supra* n. 258) as to the Jiwnakans [4] and the Spandunis [9], projecting the creation of their offices to the mythical King Vologases (Vaļaršak); also Thomas 2.6; John. Kath. 206-207; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 301, 490; *supra* n. 246.

²⁶⁴ Eliseus 5 (129).

²⁶⁵ 555 Acts; Sebēos 35 (226); Ps. Moses 2.7: mentions this house together with the Jiwnakans [4] and the Hawenunis [7] as of non-Haykid origin (*supra* n. 258). The name, on Adontz's suggestion, may be a derivation of the Kamsarakan family *praenomen* of Spandarat; *Armenija* 305 and n. 1. If they be indeed a branch of the Kamsarakans, the ascription to them of the office of Master of the Holocausts of pagan Armenia by Ps. Moses 2.7, must be fully imaginary; cf. Adontz 490.

²⁶⁶ Lazarus 39; Eliseus 5 (129), 6 (156) (Garegin of Sruanjit died a martyr's death in 451; Xurs of Sruanjit took part in that insurrection).

²⁶⁷ Eliseus 5 (129); Sebēos 6 (76), 7 (79), 18 (104); Ps. Moses 2.47 (non-dynastic origin pushed back to ancient times); Iewond 34 (144); Thomas 2.6; 3.2, 4; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 231 and n. 3; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 323, 376; *infra* n. 301.

13. The Princes of Urts or Urtsadzor held the valley of the Urts river in Ayrarat as their princely State and appear in history only in the person of Varaz-Nerses, son of Kołtik, Prince of Urts, in the insurrection of 451.²⁶⁸

15. Finally we come to the general list of all the princely houses and all the dynasties of Great Armenia, of both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period. Several of these houses were branches of same dynasties, which are, accordingly, fewer in number; several dynasties had very numerous branches. This is typical of dynasticist societies, such as medieval Russia of the Rurikids, medieval Lithuania of the Gediminids, or medieval Poland of the Piasts. It has been noted already that in such societies, late arrivals in the princely caste can only be later ramifications of old dynasties. This consideration has prompted the acceptance here of several possible affinities as actual belonging. At the distance of time that separates us from the formative centuries of Caucasia and with the comparative dearth of source material, absolute certainty of a house's belonging to a certain dynasty is not always possible. The list to follow is a double one: of all the known houses — to the left — and — to the right — of the dynasties to which these houses belonged, or may have belonged.

TABLE I
General List of the Princes

<i>Houses</i>		<i>Dynasties</i>
1. Abelean		1. Arsacids
2. Akē		2. Akē
3. Amatuni		3. Amatuni
4. Andzewats'i	I. Dynasty:	4. Mahkert
	II. Dynasty:	5. Orontids
5. Apahuni		6. Urarṭu
6. Aṛawelean		7. Alania
7. Aṛawenean		5. Orontids
8. Arshakuni		1. Arsacids
9. Artsruni and Adiabene		5. Orontids
10. Arzanene		5. Orontids
11. Ashots'		8. Mihranids
12. Asthianene		1. Arsacids
13. Bagean		9. Bagean
14. Bagratuni		5. Orontids
15. Balabitene		10. Balabitene
16. Bznuni		6. Urarṭu
17. Colthene		5. Orontids
18. Corduene		11. Corduene
19. Dashtakaran		12. Dashtakaran

²⁶⁸ Lazarus 36, 67; Eliseus 3 (95), 4 (119). The early disappearance of this house must explain Ps.Moses' ignorance of its existence.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 20. Dimak'sean | | 13. Dimak'sean |
| 21. Dziunakan | | 1. Arsacids |
| 22. Dzorap'or | | 14. Gusharids |
| 23. Ėntsayats'i | | 15. Mardpetakan |
| 24. Eruanduni | | 5. Orontids |
| 25. Gabel'ean | | 1. Arsacids |
| 26. Gardman | I. Dynasty: | 16. Gardman |
| | II. Dynasty: | 8. Mihranids |
| | [III. Dynasty: | Gardman-Albania] |
| 27. Gnt'uni | | 17. Gnt'uni |
| 28. Gnuni | | 5. Orontids |
| 29. Gogarene | I. Dynasty: | 14. Gusharids |
| | [II. Dynasty: | 8. Mihranids] |
| 30. Gregorids | | 1. Arsacids |
| 31. Habuzhean | | 18. Habuzhean |
| 32. Hawenuni | | 1. Arsacids |
| 33. Ingilene and Anzitene | | 5. Orontids |
| 34. K'ajberuni | | 19. K'ajberuni |
| 35. Kamsarakan-Arsharuni | | 1. Arsacids |
| 36. Khorkhoṛuni | | 20. Khorkhoṛuni |
| 37. Kolbap'or | | 14. Gusharids |
| 38. K'oḷean | | 21. K'oḷean |
| 39. Mahkert | | 4. Mahkert |
| 40. Mamikonean | | 22. Mamikonids |
| 41. Manawazean | | 6. Urartu |
| 42. Mandakuni | | 23. Mandakuni |
| 43. Mardpetakan | | 15. Mardpetakan |
| 44. Moxoene | | 24. Moxoene |
| 45. Orduni and Phasiane | | 6. Urartu |
| 46. Otene | | 25. Otene |
| 47. Paluni | | 26. Paluni |
| 48. Rop'sean | | 27. Emesa |
| 49. Ṛshtuni | | 6. Urartu |
| 50. Saḥaruni | | 28. Saḥaruni |
| 51. Siunia | I. Dynasty: | 29. Siunia |
| | [II. Dynasty: | Gardman-Albania |
| | III. Dynasty: | 22. Mamikonids (Orbelids)] |
| 52. Sḷkuni | | 30. Sḷkuni |
| 53. Greater Sophene | | 5. Orontids |
| 54. Lesser Sophene | | 5. Orontids |
| 55. Spanduni | | 1. Arsacids |
| 56. Sruandzit | | 31. Sruandzit |
| 57. Tashir | | 8. Mihranids |
| 58. Trpatuni | | 32. Trpatuni |
| 59. Urts(adzor) | | 33. Urts(adzor) |
| 60. Vahewuni | | 5. Orontids |
| 61. Vanand | | 34. Vanand |
| 62. Varazhnuni | | 35. Varazhnuni |
| 63. Zabdicene | | 36. Zabdicene |
| 64. Zarewand and Her | | 5. Orontids. |

The total number of the Armenian princely houses is thus sixty-four; of the dynasties thirty-six. The number of dynasties could be decreased by three, if one were to regard the House of Bagean as Orontid, that of Dimak'sean as of the same royal Alanian origin as the Araweļeans, and that of Khor-khoṛuni as Urartian.²⁶⁹ At the same time, Pseudo-Moses has preserved the memory of two princely houses which disappeared before the Arsacid period: the House of Murats'an and the House of Kadmos; while, on the other hand, Thomas Artsruni mentions, as in the mid-ninth century, five houses which are absolutely unknown to earlier historians and must be presumed to have been younger branches of old houses.²⁷⁰

The above list of houses — be it repeated — does not represent any concrete historical situation: all of them never coexisted at one and the same period. To find out the number of houses and dynasties existing at a given epoch, one must count the houses which flourished in both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period together with either those of the Arsacid period alone, or those of the post-Arsacid period alone. It is, to be sure, well-nigh impossible to assert with absolute certainty that the result of this computation will be exact, because it is not always possible to say that some of the houses of the third category (of the post-Arsacid period) did not in fact exist, unmentioned in the sources, before the collapse of the Third Armenian Monarchy, or that more of these same houses were not offshoots of known dynasties, such as the Arsacids or the Orontids. In other words, the statistics of the

²⁶⁹ *Supra* n. 249 (for Bagean), n. 231 (for Dimak'sean); Piotrovskij, *Vanskoe Carstvo* 124 (for Xorxoṛuni).

²⁷⁰ The Caspio-Median house of Murac'an is mentioned in Ps.Moses 2.8, 44, 46, 51, as descended from Astyages of Media (cf. Amatuni [§ 12.3]) and exterminated by the Artaxiads; cf. Ĭap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 140. — Kadmos was the name of one of the early mythical Haykids: *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 3, 5, 6; Ps.Moses 1.10, 12. But the House of Kadmos, mentioned by Ps. Moses 2.4, 8, is not identifiable; and if it ever existed it must have early on disappeared from history. Thus, it is not known to any of the ancient historians; and Ps. Moses himself refers to it in a general way, at an early period, without mentioning it in any particular circumstances, or any members of it. Kadmos himself is considered an eponym of Corduene by Adontz, *Armenija* 418, and Markwart, *Südarmerien* 218-219. On the other hand, Ĭap'anc'yan, 256, and Manandyan, *O nek. sporn. probl.* 150, see in him the eponym of the land of Kadmuḫi, which according to the latter was connected with Uruaṭri. In the Military Register (*infra* at n. 304), Kadmos stands for Adiabene. — The houses of the princely vassals (*naxarak'*) of the Arcrunis of Vaspurakan, unknown before Thomas, are Gazrik, Gundsalar, Harmac'i, Marac'ean, and Varazx: 2.6; 3.4 (Gazrik only). Gazrik must be derived from the canton of Gazrikan, in Vaspurakan: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 345 (known already to the seventh-century *Geography* of Ananias of Siracene, 33); Gundsalar = *gund-salar*, the Iranian term designating commander of an army unit: Christensen *Iran Sass.* 210; Varazx must be a derivation of the Iranian *praenomen* Varāzağ; cf. *ibid.* 108, 277 (father of the Prime Minister Mihr-Narseh of the House of Spandiyāḏ, one of the 'Seven Houses': *ibid.* 104 n. 1). These last two words may not have been surnames.

Princes of Great Armenia which we are about to elucidate must of necessity remain, what all statistics are, approximate. On the other hand, what names there are on the above list there is good reason to regard as representing *all* the princely names of Great Armenia that existed during the formative centuries, for it is, I think, impossible to presume that the combined evidence of the ancient historians may have left unmentioned any dynasts, — as impossible, really, as to suspect Saint-Simon of having overlooked a single duke and peer of France. Accordingly, there now follow two lists: of the houses and dynasties of the Arsacid period and of the houses and dynasties of the post-Arsacid period.

TABLE II
The Princes of the Arsacid Period

<i>Houses</i>	<i>Dynasties</i>
1. Akē	1. Akē
2. Amatuni	2. Amatuni
3. Andzewats'i	3. Mahkert
4. Apahuni	4. Urartu
5. Arawelean	5. Alania
6. Arawenean	6. Orontids
7. Arshakuni	7. Arsacids
8. Artsruni and Adiabene	6. Orontids
9. Arzanene	6. Orontids
10. Asthianene	7. Arsacids
11. Bagean	8. Bagean
12. Bagratuni	6. Orontids
13. Balabithene	9. Balabithene
14. Bznuni	4. Urartu
15. Colthene	6. Orontids
16. Corduene	10. Corduene
17. Dimak'sean	11. Dimak'sean
18. Dzorap'or	12. Gusharids
19. Eruanduni	6. Orontids
20. Gardman	13. Gardman
21. Gnt'uni	14. Gnt'uni
22. Gnuni	6. Orontids
23. Gogarene	12. Gusharids
24. Gregorids	7. Arsacids
25. Habuzhean	15. Habuzhean
26. Ingilene and Anzithene	6. Orontids
27. K'ajberuni	16. K'ajberuni
28. Kamsarakan-Arsharuni	7. Arsacids
29. Khorkhoruni	17. Khorkhoruni
30. Kolbap'or	12. Gusharids
31. Mahkert	3. Mahkert
32. Mamikonean	18. Mamikonids
33. Manawazean	4. Urartu

34. Mandakuni	19. Mandakuni
35. Mardpetakan	20. Mardpetakan
36. Moxoene	21. Moxoene
37. Orduni and Phasiane	4. Urarṭu
38. Otene	22. Otene
39. Paluni	23. Paluni
40. R'opsean	24. Emesa
41. R̄shtuni	4. Urarṭu
42. Saḥaruni	25. Saḥaruni
43. Siunia	26. Siunia
44. S̄lkuni	27. S̄lkuni
45. Greater Sophene	6. Orontids
46. Lesser Sophene	6. Orontids
47. Vahewuni	6. Orontids
48. Vanand	28. Vanand
49. Varazhnuni	29. Varazhnuni
50. Zabdicene	30. Zabdicene
51. Zarewand and Her	6. Orontids

There appear, accordingly, to have been fifty-one princely houses in Arsacid Armenia, belonging to thirty different dynasties.

The numeration of the houses of the post-Arsacid period found below in Table III reflects the situation of only the initial phase of that period. That situation did not remain static. By the year 500, eight princely houses and the corresponding seven dynasties had disappeared from history. They are marked in the list below by one asterisk. Then, by the year 800, fourteen more houses and the seven more corresponding dynasties had been last heard of, at any rate in Armenia. They are marked below by two asterisks.

TABLE III
The Princes of the post-Arsacid Period

<i>Houses</i>		<i>Dynasties</i>
1. Abeḷean**		1. Arsacids
2. Akē		2. Akē
3. Amatuni		3. Amatuni
4. Andzewatsi	I. Dynasty:	4. Mahkert
	II. Dynasty:	5. Orontids
5. Apahuni		6. Urarṭu
6. Aṛaweḷean**		7. Alania**
7. Aṛawenean**		5. Orontids
8. Arshakuni**		1. Arsacids
9. Artsruni and Mardpetakan		5. Orontids
10. Ashots**		8. Mihranids**
11. Bagratuni		5. Orontids
12. Colthene**		5. Orontids
13. Dashtakaran**		9. Dashtakaran**
14. Dimak'sean**		10. Dimak'sean**
15. Dziunakan**		1. Arsacids

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 16. Ēntsayat'si* | 11. Mardpetakan* |
| 17. Eruanduni* | 5. Orontids |
| 18. Gabelean | 1. Arsacids |
| 19. Gnt'uni | 12. Gnt'uni |
| 20. Gnuni | 5. Orontids |
| 21. Hawenuni | 1. Arsacids |
| 22. K'ajberuni | 13. K'ajberuni |
| 23. Kamsarakan-Arsharuni | 1. Arsacids |
| 24. Khorkhoṛuni | 14. Khorkhoṛuni |
| 25. K'oḷean* | 15. K'oḷean* |
| 26. Mamikonean | 16. Mamikonids |
| 27. Mandakuni* | 17. Mandakuni* |
| 28. Moxoene | 18. Moxoene |
| 29. Paluni** | 19. Paluni** |
| 30. Rop'sean* | 20. Emesa* |
| 31. Ršhtuni | 6. Urartu |
| 32. Saḥaruni** | 21. Saḥaruni** |
| 33. Siunia | 22. Siunia |
| | I. Dynasty: |
| | [II. Dynasty: |
| | III. Dynasty: |
| 34. Sḷkuni* | Gardman-Albania |
| 35. Spanduni** | 16. Mamikonid-Orbelid] |
| 36. Sruandzit* | 23. Sḷkuni* |
| 37. Tashir** | 1. Arsacids |
| 38. Trpatuni | 24. Sruandzit* |
| 39. Urts(adzor)* | 8. Mihranids** |
| 40. Vahewuni | 25. Trpatuni |
| 41. Vanand** | 26. Urts(adzor)* |
| 42. Varazhnuni | 5. Orontids |
| | 27. Vanand** |
| | 28. Varazhnuni |

Thus there appear to have been in post-Arsacid Armenia forty-two princely houses belonging to twenty-seven dynasties about A.D. 400; thirty-four houses belonging to twenty dynasties about A.D. 500; and only twenty-one houses belonging to thirteen dynasties about A.D. 800.

16. There is reason to believe in the existence of registers of the princely houses that must have been kept in Armenia in connection with the question of their precedence at Court, first of Great Armenia and then of Iran, as well as with their cavalry contributions to their lords paramount, first the King of Armenia and then — in return for subsidies — the Great King of Iran.²⁷¹ Yet none has reached us. There are indeed three lists that claim, by implication, to be authentic, complete, and even official. They have been thoroughly examined by Adontz and found to be lacking in the character to which they pretend.²⁷² The most recent of them is the least worthy of attention.

²⁷¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 272-280.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 236-297.

It is included in the tenth-century Life of St. Nerses by Mesrop the Priest and represents a late attempt to draw up a complete list of the Armenian princely dynasties of the past; but the compiler's imperfect knowledge of history and over-abundant imagination produced a text that is as fantastic as it is worthless.²⁷³ The remaining two documents are more respectable. One is called the Throne-List or *Gahnamak*;²⁷⁴ the other is a Military Register.²⁷⁵ Both are *ex post facto* compilations of an antiquarian, *livresque* nature and not contemporary official documents. The first list is concerned with precedence only, and, in general, reflects the situation prior to the destruction of the Sassanid Empire. The second was drawn up from the point of view of the military potential of the principalities as it existed in the period between the years 531/579 and 750. Although not official and, moreover, marred by omissions and the presence of fantastic items, both documents contain much authentic evidence that is verifiable from unimpeachable sources — the very sources upon which the foregoing is based: the writings of the ancient historians, who were contemporaries or near-contemporaries of what they described; whose pages are replete, like those of Froissart, with great names.

The Throne-List and the Military Register contain names that are patently unauthentic as princely names, though most of them are authentic enough toponyms.²⁷⁶ The former document shows 69 names (numbered seventy, but it skips from No. 23 to No. 25); of these, 16 are unauthentic as *nomina gentilitia* or are geographical,²⁷⁷ 11 (in reality 10) stand for secundo-genitures,

²⁷³ *Ibid.* 240-241, 257-259. Through misreading a passage in Zenobius of Glak's *History of Tarawn*, the author of the Life of St. Nerses assumed the number of the Princes to have reached 400; he could, however, produce only 145 names, most of them erroneous or imaginary. Another misunderstanding of the sources, Faustus this time, led some to speak even of 900 houses! Cf. Adontz 238-239. — The *Hist. of Tarawn* appears to have been produced not earlier than the eighth century; it is a compilation of popular epic of which the first part is attributed to the fourth-century Syrian Zenobius and the latter part to the seventh century John, Bishop of the Mamikonids: Abeġyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 345-362.

²⁷⁴ The text: Adontz, *Armenija* 249-250. It was discovered by Y. Axverdov and published in his Russian edition of the History of Ps. Moses, in 1858; its phototypic reproduction is given in L. Ališan, *Agrarat* (Venice 1890) 430. This list, or its source, may be anterior to Ps. Moses (mid-eighth century); cf. Adontz 263, 291. In the tenth or eleventh century, Uxtanēs knew it: *ibid.* 253.

²⁷⁵ The text: Adontz, *Armenija* 251-252. This document, likewise termed *gahnamak*, was first published by Bishop Šahatunean in *Storagruŋ' iwn Eġmiciaci* (Eġmiciaci 1842). It contains a list of the princely names and of the corresponding number of cavalry. This document, or its source, may have been known to Ps. Moses and to Ōrbelean (thirteenth century): Adontz 263, 254.

²⁷⁶ The significance of this inclusion of toponyms will be discussed *infra* at nn. 300-302.

²⁷⁷ Ak'acu, Artasēsean, Ašahmarean, Basenoy datawor (Phasiane), Bžnuni, C'ul, Kas-pēic' tēr, Mamberac'i, Mehnuni, Naxčeri, Taygrean, Tayoc' (Tayk'), Vaagraspu, Varaspakean, Varjawuni, Vižanu; cf. *infra* nn. 281, 282, 283.

tertio-genitures, and still younger lines,²⁷⁸ 2 are, respectively, a term designating an office and a princely surname of a later date.²⁷⁹ thus 40 houses remain, 5 of which belong to the Arsacid period only.²⁸⁰ The Military Register shows 86 names; of these 18 are toponyms,²⁸¹ 12 are corrupt names which are most likely also toponyms,²⁸² and 5 are surnames, of which 4 are not princely and 1 anachronistic:²⁸³ thus 51 houses remain, 15 of which belong to the Arsacid period only.²⁸⁴

The information of the Throne-List regarding the secundo- and tertio-genitures is very interesting and wholly conformable to what evidence can be derived on this subject from the historians. It is, therefore, of value to append it here:

²⁷⁸ Abelean II, Anjewac'i II, Apahuni II, Arcruni II and III, Dimak'sean of Buxa, Dimak'sean II, Dimak'sean of Siracene, Mamikonean II, Siunia II, and Vanand II. While in the case of Abelean, Anjewac'i, Apahuni, and Dimak'sean, the name is preceded by the word *ayl* ('the other'), in the case of the rest, the name is followed by *erkrord* or *errord* ('the second', 'the third'). The list needlessly distinguishes between Dimak'sean and Dimak'sean of Buxa; mentioned together, they stand for one and the same thing: the eldest line of the house, while Dimak'sean II, close to it, must indicate its cadet branch and Dimak'sean of Siracene, mentioned later, must mean an older subdivision, but, judging from its position, junior to the line of Buxa.

²⁷⁹ *Kaġakapetn ark'uni* = Prefect of the City, no doubt occupied by a prince, and Gazrikan, for which, see *supra* n. 270, *infra* n. 303. In the same list, the House of Varažnuni is mentioned, likewise, by its office of Master of the Chase = *orsapetn ark'uni*.

²⁸⁰ Bznuni, Gardman, Murac'an, Lesser Sophene, Zarewand and Her.

²⁸¹ Artasešean, Bak'an, Boguni, Bužuni, Gukan, Kčruni, Mazanac'i, Mehnuni, Patsparuni, Phasiane, Sodac'i, Tagrean, Tamrarac'i, Tayk', Truni, Varžnuni, Varjawuni, Vižanuni. — Artasešean, Bak'an, Bogunik', Bužunik', Krčunik', Mehnunik', Patsparunik', Ta(y)grean, Va(r)žanunik', and V(r)žnunik' were cantons in Vaspurakan; Tamber, in Persarmenia; Sodk' in Siunia; Mazan in Ayrarat; and Va(r)žnunik' in Turuberan: Adontz, *Armenija* 256, 308, 315, 317-318, 321; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 338, 340-341, 342, 345, 348, 365. — For Tayk' cf. *infra* n. 285; for Phasiane and Truni, *infra* n. 301.

²⁸² Ak'acac'i, Amaskoni, Aščšnean, Awacac'i, Aycenakan, C'olkepan, Gržčuni, Hamastunean, Kinan, Sagratuni, Vařnuni, Varazartikean.

²⁸³ Abrahamean, Ašxadarean, Kaspec'i, Zandaġan, and Gazrikan (*supra* n. 270). Of the 35 names given in this and the two preceding notes, 16 are identical with some of the unauthentic princely names of the Throne-List: Ak'acac'i = Ak'acu; Artasešean is the same in both; Ašxadarean = Ašahmarean; Bužuni = Bžnuni; C'olkepan = (?) C'ul; Gazrikan is the same in both; Kaspec'i = Kaspēic' tēr; Mehnuni is the same in both; so is Phasiane; Tamrarac'i = Mamberac'i; Tagrean = Taygrean; Tayk' is the same in both; Sagratuni = (?) Vaagraspu; Varazartikean = Varaspakean; Varjawuni is the same in both; Vižanuni = Vižanu; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 257, 264.

²⁸⁴ Adiabene, Arzanene, Bznuni, Corduene, Gardman, Gogarene, Ingilene, Manawazean, Orduni, Otene, Sophene, Zabdcienne, and Zarewand and Her. Also Murac'an belonging to a pre-Arsacid period.

TABLE IV
The Cadet Lines ²⁸⁵

Abelean II	Dimak'sean II
Andzewats'i II	Dimak'sean of Siracene
Amatuni II	Mamikonean II
Apahuni II	Siunia II
Artsruni II	Vanand II
Artsruni III	

These ten subsidiary political-dynastic units are not counted here as separate States, any more than are so counted the several princedoms that were permanently united under the rule of one princely government, as in the case of the Bagratids and the Mamikonids.

Adontz believed he had discovered more princely houses, but quite mistakenly. Partly because the Throne-List and the Military Register have in common some names which are not known as princely from any serious source, but which are nevertheless in part recognizable toponyms, though in part quite unrecognizable, Adontz felt justified in regarding them as representing hitherto unknown houses.²⁸⁶ His premise for so doing, I cannot think

²⁸⁵ Secundo-genitures of the Houses of Amatuni, Apahuni, Arcruni, and Dimak'sean are noted by Lazarus, Eliseus, and Sebēos: Adontz, *Armenija* 256, 291 and n. 1. — In the House of Arcruni, Mardpetakan was in the hands of the senior line (= Arcruni [I]): thus, Mihršapuh or Neršapuh Arcruni is called at once *mardpet* and 'great Prince of the Arcrunis,' while Aprsam Arcruni is simply 'Prince of the Arcrunis' in Lazarus 39, 42, 47; cf. Eliseus 2 (55), 5 (129), 8 (250-251); possibly Albak belonged to the latter; cf. Adontz 320. In this case his line must be the Arcruni II of the list. — Sargis Tayec'i mentioned in Sebēos 18 (104) must have been a younger Mamikonid appanaged in Tayk', while the chief line held the remaining lands; he is thus probably the Mamikonean II of the list: *Bagr. of Iber.* § 8 n. 61. The case of Manag of Phasiane, of the House of Orduni (*supra* at n. 255) seems to be a similar one.

²⁸⁶ Cf. *supra* n. 283; Adontz, *Armenija* 261, 262, 264, 321. And yet, of these 16, 4 (really 3) are on Adontz' own admission (256) unrecognizable: Ak'acac'i, C'ul, Sagratuni, Va[a]graspu[ni] (the last two stand for one and the same name: Adontz 264). To these I would add 2 more: Varazartikean and Varjawuni. Then, 6 more are authentic toponyms: Artasesean, Bužunik', Mehnunik', Tamber, Taygrean, and Vižanuni (= Vržnunik'). Much is made by Adontz, 248, 262-264, 321, of the fact the Bužunik' and Mehnunik' were episcopal sees; yet though the principalities had, for the most part, each its own episcopal see, the reverse is not necessarily true. Nor was the title of a see always identical with that of the corresponding princely State. Thus, e.g., the Bishop of Artaz was the chief prelate of the Amatunis (Adontz 321 n. 2). On the other hand, a dynasty reigning in several principalities might be connected with several episcopal sees, as the Mamikonids with their three Bishops, of Tarawn, of Bagraundene, and of Tayk' (Adontz 330-331). The text of Zenobius, *Hist. of Tarawn* (ed. Venice 1889) 48, which Adontz cited for the House of Mehnuni, is not, I fear, acceptable. In the first place, it is a late (*supra* n. 273) and doubtful source and, secondly, the passage in question refers only to the 'band of fearless inhabitants of Mehnunik'' (*gund mi xučapeal Mehnuneac'n*), which has nothing princely about it (in this sense my

to have been valid, since the compilers of the two documents may well have had access to each other or to each other's source or sources. Adontz accepted as authentic 4 demonstrably false names found in these two documents;²⁸⁷ gratuitously, as princely names, 3 authentic toponyms in the Military Register;²⁸⁸ and, as a historical house, the mythological name used in the Register to designate the Vitaxate of Adiabene.²⁸⁹ He also thought he had discovered 9 dynastic names, 1 in Sebēos and 8 in Lazarus; which in actual fact is not justified by the texts alluded to.²⁹⁰ Finally, he tended to see, on the basis

Lists 375, No. 42, is to be corrected). Gazrikan, on Adontz's admission (321) belonged only to the Arab period; and this applied to several of the above toponyms as well. For Ašxadarean and Kaspeč'i, see n. 287; for Phasiane and Tayk', n. 301.

²⁸⁷ Of these 4 names, 2, Ašxadarean and Kaspeč'i, are found in both documents, and 2, Abrahamean and Zandaĵan, only in the Military Register. All are spurious. Curiously enough, Adontz, *Armenija* 265, cf. 264, appears to think that Ašxadarean was a house known to Ps. Moses. Actually, the latter mentions (2.83) only Ašxadar, father of the wife of Tiridates the Great, who was, on the occasion of her marriage, raised by her husband-to-be to the rank of the Arsacids (i.e., recognized as *ebenbürtig*), but there is absolutely no reference to any family of Ašxadarean (unless this be an epithet of the Dimak'seans: *supra* n. 231). Nor is there any reference in any ancient historical writings to a House of Caspiane (Kaspeč'i; or of the Caspians = Kaspēic'), which Adontz, 262, 263, 264, treats as real. The Military Register credits it with the contingent of 3,000 horse; and a dynasty of such magnitude could not have remained unknown to the ancient historians. The name simply disguises Atropatene, and, as Adontz himself half suggests elsewhere (289 n. 1), it was included in the Register because its compiler had seen in Faustus, 3.20, the Iranian viceroy of Atropatene reported as having mustered an army, precisely, of 3,000. Caspiane (P'ay-takaran) had indeed been wrested by Armenia from Atropatene: Strabo 11.14.5; cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 267-270. This is an indication, by the way, that, in order to make his list as complete as possible, the antiquarian-compiler used, besides what official registers there may have been, also the works of the historians. His inclusion of Ašxadarean must have been due to a misreading of Ps. Moses (or his source); exactly as his inclusion of Abrahamean and Zandaĵan must have been due to his misreading Sebēos and Lazarus; for this, see *infra* n. 290.

²⁸⁸ Adontz, *Armenija* 231: Bak'an (perhaps included in the Register through confusion with Bagean), Gukan, and Patsparunik'; cf. *supra* n. 281.

²⁸⁹ Adontz, *Armenija* 256, 262, 285, 418: Kadmean, which is the same as the Kadmeac'i ('[Prince] of Kadmos') of the Military Register. For this legendary family, see *supra* n. 270.

²⁹⁰ Adontz, *Armenija* 247: (1) Abrahamean: Sebēos 28 (156-157) speaks of the Katholikos Christopher II (628-630) as *yAbrahamean tanē*, i.e., of the house or family of the Katholikos Abraham (607 -c. 610): there is nothing dynastic about this. Christopher is called *Ἀβραμῖτης* in the Gk. List of the Katholikoi (Garitte, *Narratio* 405); cf. Garitte 431, 430. In this sense my *Lists*, 369 No., 2, is to be corrected and the name of Abrahamean to be deleted from the map of the Armenian principalities and Iberian lands in both *Lists* (between 390 and 391) and *Introd. I* 105. Adontz 245: (2) Aĵbewrkac'i: Lazarus 90 (357) mentions this name among some confederates (*uxtak'ac'n*) of Vahan Mamikonean, after an Arcruni and a Kamsarakan; but there is no reason to think that he was not an *azat* (noble); being in the company of dynasts need not make one a dynast! — (3) Aršamuni: Lazarus 81 (328)

of Sebēos, in several cantons of Upper Armenia independent principalities, for which there appears to be no warrant.²⁹¹

17. The Military Register, as has been noted, is an antiquarian's compilation of the available data on the subject of the number of cavalry troops furnished by the Princes in fulfilment of their feudal obligations towards their lord paramount. The material used appears in part to have been official records, which must have been kept, especially in connection with the subsidies received by the Princes, in return for that service, from the imperial overlords of Armenia after the end of the Arsacid Monarchy: the Great King and, later, the Caliph.²⁹² The compiler appears also to have searched through the ancient historians for additional data.²⁹³ The names that figure in the Register are divided into four groups, or 'gates' (*durk'*), corresponding to the four cardinal points, and are accompanied by figures indicating the number of horse contributed by each. This fourfold division of the armed forces

merely mentions a man as coming from the canton of Aršamunik' (or *ēr i gawaṙēn Aršamuneac'*); since this person was a milk-brother of a Kamsarakan-Aršaruni there is reason to suppose that the text is to be emended to *Aršaruneac'*. — (4) Artakuni: Lazarus 71 (284-285) says that he was an *ostanik*, i.e., a courtier of the king or a prince; cf. *Introd.* I 100-101. — (5) Kark'ayi: Lazarus 90 (357); his case is the same as that of No. 2. — (6) Mardpetakan: Lazarus 90 (357) speaks of *Pačok i Mardpetakan*, which means merely 'Počok from Mardpetakan,' in the same circumstances as those of Nos. 2 and 5; cf. also No. 3. — (7) Yovsepean: Lazarus 83 (337) refers to him among a group of martyrs, some of whom were indeed members of the princely caste, while others not, like one who was a Greek and, unquestionably, this one. — (8) Aršakan: Lazarus 40 (156), 41 (159), 42 (160); but he was not even an Armenian, but a Persian. — (9) Zandaḡan: Lazarus 32 (128) speaks of him as an *ostanik*; thus his case is identical with that of No. 4. The Military Register, like Adontz, misreading Lazarus, includes this name among the Princes.

²⁹¹ Sebēos 35 (226): *Ընդ առաջ ելին նմա Սպերացիքն, իշխանք Բագրատունեաց, և Մանաղայքն, և Կարանաղայքն, և որք յԵկեղեց գաւառէ, և ամենայն զաւրք տեղեացն այնոցիկ, և Կարնացիք, և Տայեցիք, և Բասենացիք* ('There came away to him the people of Syspiritis, the Bagratid princes, and the people of Manali, and of Daranali, and those of the canton of Acilisene, and all their trained forces, and the people of Carenitis, and of Tayk', and of Phasiane'). The mention of the Bagratid princes [§ 12.9] side by side with the Syspiritians — Syspiritis was the Bagratid principedom *par excellence* — is, I think, sufficient to show that all these territorial epithets denote not dynasties, but peoples. Some of them indeed constituted principedoms, like Syspiritis, the Acilisene of the Mamikonids [§ 12.18] and the Carenitis of the Aršakunis [§ 12.1] while Daranali belonged to the Church: Adontz, *Armenija* 124. But Adontz, 121, tends to regard all the above lands of Upper Armenia as separate principedoms (*supra* n. 209) and, moreover, places (247) Tayk' and Phasiane on his list of the Princes. In this he was prompted by the existence of Sargis of Tayk' and Manag of Phasiane (*supra* n. 285) and by the fact that both toponyms are inserted in the Military Register and the Throne-List: *supra* n. 283.

²⁹² Adontz, *Armenija* 250-289.

²⁹³ *Supra* n. 287.

reflects the one introduced in the Iranian empire by the Great King Chosroes I (531-579). This monarch's regnal years are, accordingly, the *terminus a quo* of the situation reflected in the Register. On the other hand, the institution of the Armenian vassal cavalry was discontinued by the Caliphate c. 750, which date is, therefore, the *terminus ad quem*,²⁹⁴ although, as will be seen presently, this term may rather be the downfall of the Sassanid empire. In his endeavor to make the list as complete as possible the author included in it 15 princely houses which had left the Armenian Monarchy or had become extinct before the establishment of the Sassanid emperor's immediate suzerainty over the Princes in 428.²⁹⁵ The author, moreover, included 18 names which do not represent any dynasties at all, but rather designate various territorial units that may wholly in part have belonged to princes of different names.²⁹⁶ The document contains also 12 names that are corrupt beyond recognition, but which seem to stand likewise for territorial units.²⁹⁷ Finally there are 4 *nomina gentilia* that are not princely.²⁹⁸

Some figures of the Register must be spurious, like those that follow at least 3 of the non-princely surnames.²⁹⁹ But that all the data of this Register be spurious — a figment of the compiler's imagination — is difficult to assert in view of the support given to them, as will be seen presently, by the trustworthy sources. The figures that follow the known and the presumable toponyms are for the most part far below these credited to the vast majority of the Princes.³⁰⁰ Accordingly, it could be supposed that the recruitment was carried out by the canton, or land, irrespective of whether that land constituted an entire principality or was, together with other lands, merely a part of

²⁹⁴ Adontz, *Armenija* 282-283. For the division of Chosroes I, see Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 370. For the suppression of the Armenian princely feudal aid to the Caliph, see Lewond 28 (128); cf. 25 (120) for the renown of the Armenian cavalry.

²⁹⁵ *Supra* n. 284.

²⁹⁶ *Supra* n. 281.

²⁹⁷ *Supra* n. 282.

²⁹⁸ *Supra* n. 283.

²⁹⁹ Kaspec'i, Ašxadarean (*supra* n. 287), and Abrahamean (*supra* n. 290). The first one is absolutely spurious. The second and third may, after all, represent *azat* names; though it seems highly unlikely.

³⁰⁰ While, as will be seen in Table V, of the authentic princely houses, 22 had 1,000 or more horse; 7 had 600 or 500; 19, 300; and only 3, 100; or, assuming the probabilities discussed *infra* in nn. 305 and 306, 23 had 1,000 or more; 10, 600 or 500; and 12, 100; the toponyms are apportioned as follows: 1, 300 (Artašesean); 4, 200 (Amaskoni, Awacac'i, Bužuni, Varjawuni); 10, 100 (Aycenakan, Boguni, C'olkepan, Hamastunean, Mazazac'i, Mehnuni, Sagratuni, Tamberac'i, Varazartikean, Varžnuni); 12, 50 (Ak'acac'i, Asčšnean, Bak'an, Gazrikan, Gržčuni, Gukan, Kinan, Krčuni, Patsparuni, Sodac'i, Tagrean, Var-nuni). I count the two Dimak'sean lines, each 300 strong, as one.

one.³⁰¹ It could also be supposed that some of these lands did not form parts of principalities, but belonged to the *azat* nobility, possibly those of that class who were immediate vassals of the King of Armenia in his quality of Prince of Ayrarat. The territorial epithets, which in the Register represent some of the geographical units, indicate that lords, not lands, are meant. If true, this may be an interesting contribution to our meager knowledge of the conditions of the *azat* class.³⁰²

The above Iranian fourfold division of the armed forces never existed in Armenia. What is found in the Military Register must be regarded as the compiler's attempt to approximate the memory of the four Vitaxae to the contemporary Iranian pattern. This is what suggests that the *terminus ad quem* of the pattern of the Register may be the end of the Sassanid empire. The pattern reflected in this document may well belong to the period between the reign of Chosroes I and that of Yazdgard III, but the actual date of its compilation must be more recent. The inclusion in it of at least one name designating a house which came into existence only in the late Arab period would indicate that the Register could not have been compiled before that time.³⁰³ On the other hand, whatever the date of its compilation may be, it need not signify that the data it contains are not older. This adoption of an Iranian pattern to Armenia is wholly artificial, and so is the very distribution of the names in the four 'gates': 21 in the West Gate and in the East Gate, 22 in the North Gate and in the South Gate. Then, the West Gate is made to contain princedoms from *two* Vitaxates: Ingilene, from the Syrian March and once connected with that Vitaxate, and Arzanene, or the Arabian March, — these two States head the West Gate — and also some princedoms of central Armenia (e.g., Apahuni, Gnuni). The East Gate is headed by

³⁰¹ The House of Trpatuni offers a case in point. This name is the same as Truni, as found in Ps. Moses (Adontz, *Armenija* 321 n. 3), but in the Register both forms appear: Truni is followed by the numeral 300 and Trapatuni by 100. This may, of course, be a case of duplication, or of sheer imagination, on the part of the author. Yet the difference in the figure may also suggest that while 'Trpatuni' stood for the nucleal land of the principality, 'Truni' represented that principality in its entirety, as composed of that land and of other territories. In the same way, Tayk', the nucleal Mamikonid land is credited with 600, while the entire Mamikonid contribution is 1,000, and Phasiane is followed by 600, while Orduni, the nucleal unit in that valley, is ascribed 100. In these cases, the smaller figure may be considered as a part of the larger.

³⁰² For the *azatk'*, see *Introd.* I 69-70, 99-101.

³⁰³ The name is Gazrikan; cf. *supra* nn. 270, 283, 286. This must be so *a fortiori*, if Adontz be right in asserting that, along with Gazrikan, Bak'an, Patsparuni, Vižanuni, Taygrean, etc. also became princedoms in late-Arab period: *Armenija* 321. — It could be supposed, on the other hand, that these toponyms were included in the Register as toponyms and that the fact of their becoming princedoms at a later date had nothing to do with the date of its compilation.

Siunia, which came indeed to play a margravian role on the eastern frontier of Armenia after the destruction of the Arsacid Monarchy, but the rest of the names in this subdivision are toponyms, obvious or corrupt. The North Gate is indeed presided by Gogarene, the Iberian March; but the South Gate has at its head 'Kadmeats'i,' or 'the [Prince] of Kadmos.' Kadmos was the name of one of the early mythical Haykids, the divine dynasty of eponymous heroes, but not of any historical family, in the formative centuries at any rate.³⁰⁴ The placing of this name at the head of the South Gate is either a pure archaeologism or — and this appears to be far more likely — a symbolic way of describing the only Vitaxa otherwise left unmentioned in the Register: him of Adiabene who controlled the Median frontier.

18. Apart from these defects, the statistical evidence of the Register will on examination appear to be in harmony with the data of the ancient historians. In examining the Register figures one is struck, however, by the fact that, while Ingilene and Arzanene, heading the West Gate, are assigned, respectively, 3,400 and 4,000 horse and Gogarene, heading the North Gate, is assigned 4,500, Siunia is credited with 19,400 and Kadmos-Adiabene with 13,200. The last two figures appear to be due to a copyist's error: the Armenian symbol for 10,000 — *ւ* — must unquestionably have been placed before the respective numerals *Ք* (9,400) and *Տ* (3,200) by mistake. Otherwise the glaring discrepancy in the potential of the theoretically equipollent margraves must remain without explanation. The Military Register represents *ex professo* the military situation of the post-Arsacid period, even though its compiler sought to include in it the statistics relevant to the houses belonging to the Arsacid period only. To appraise the worth of its evidence for the post-Arsacid period we must, first of all, eliminate these houses. When we, also, take into consideration the emendation proposed above and discount the extra 10,000 from the cavalry of Siunia and of Adiabene; when, moreover, we exclude the number of troops ascribed to the toponyms (2,700), presuming the figures following these toponyms to be included in those following the princely States of which these regions must have been parts; and when, finally, we exclude the 4 unauthentic princely names; — we shall obtain 29,100. Adding the lowest possible number of horse (100) for each of the 6 less important post-Arsacid houses and at least 500 for the important House of Amatuni, all of which are left out of the Register, we obtain something like 30,800. This happens to be remarkably close to the number of cavalry in post-Arsacid Armenia — 30,000 — that has been established on the basis of unimpeachable historical evidence.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ *Supra* n. 270.

³⁰⁵ The houses unmentioned by the Register are: Amatuni, Daštakaran, K'olean, Mard-

If, on the other hand, we substitute the houses of the Arsacid period for those of the post-Arsacid period, we shall obtain 51,300, or, if we attribute quite hypothetically a certain number of troops to the 8 houses, some quite important, left out by the Register, 54,200.³⁰⁶ But, in order to calculate the number of troops in Arsacid Armenia, the contingents of the King, in his quality of Prince of Ayrarat, must also be taken into calculation. On this point the Military Register is silent. We happen, however, to have what appears to be an evidence for the number of the royal cavalry contingent — of the Artaxiad period, it is true, not Arsacid. Strabo, in speaking of how rich in horses Armenia was, mentions, *inter alia*, that Artavasdes II showed to Marc Antony 6,000 horse, fully armed and drawn up in battle array, apart from the rest of the cavalry.³⁰⁷ That this cavalry unit, set apart from the rest of the cavalry of the realm, was the King's own contingent, seems difficult to doubt. When we add this number to the one obtained above, we shall have 60,200. Now, this figure, too, is strikingly close to the lowest of the two figures which it has been possible to establish for the cavalry of Arsacid Armenia: between 70,000 and 120,000.³⁰⁸ The figures indicated in the Register do not, obviously, represent the entire military potential of the Princes. The uniformity of the several degrees of their contributions — 1,000, 600, 500, 300, 100 — makes this amply clear, in the first place. Then, we know from Sebēos that in post-Arsacid Armenia, the Mamikonids, for instance, mustered on occasion 3,000.³⁰⁹ From Faustus, too, we learn that in Arsacid Armenia, the more important princes, precisely all, or many, of those shown in the Register as contributing 1,000 each — could muster up to 10,000.³¹⁰

petakan, Sruanjit, Tašir, Urc. On the other hand, the Register credits the House of Ėncayac'i [§ 14.15] with 4,000 horse, a patent impossibility for this decidedly secondary dynasty. Since, however, this house appears to have been a surviving branch of the Mardpets, left out of the Register, it seems very likely that the compiler ascribed to it the cavalry contingents of Mardpetakan, which in the post-Arsacid period became a principedom of the Arcrunis. Ėncayac'i, therefore, may, like five of the above houses, be credited with only 100 horse. — For the number of the post-Arsacid cavalry, see Adontz, *Armenija* 287-288.

³⁰⁶ Of the houses omitted in the Register, Bagean, Balabitene, Jorap'or, and Koļbap'or may be attributed 100 each; Amatuni, Asthianene, and Mahkert, being more important may be ascribed 500 each; while Lesser Sophene, no less important than Greater Sophene, may be credited with as much as the latter: 1,000.

³⁰⁷ Strabo 11.14.9: Ἀρταουάσδης δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης ἱππείας αὐτὴν τὴν κατάφρακτον ἑξακισχιλίαν ἵππων ἐκτάξας ἐπέδειξεν, ἥνίκα εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν ἐνέβαλε σὺν αὐτῷ.

³⁰⁸ Adontz, *Armenija* 286-287.

³⁰⁹ Sebēos 30 (173). On another occasion, the Mamikonid and Bagratid princes are reported to have contributed to the Emperor 1,000 horse each; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 289, n. 1.

³¹⁰ Faustus 3.8; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 289.

In cases of extremity, therefore, the national forces, composed as they were of the princely contingents, could easily be increased; and this, undoubtedly, must account for the amplitude between the figures for the Armenian cavalry of the Arsacid period.

Finally, if we take the figures of the Military Register ascribed to the post-Arsacid houses which still existed c. 800, we shall obtain 24,700, or, adding 500 to represent the House of Amatuni left unmentioned in this document, 25,200. And indeed, it is known that the Armenian army had dwindled considerably in the Arab period, 15,000 horse being, it seems, the regular Armenian feudal aid to the Caliphate before its abolition.³¹¹ The contributions of individual principalities may have dwindled also in the Arab period, that is, after the compilation of the Register. This may well be the reason why the Register figures add up to a number which is higher than the one recorded by the contemporary historian.

The above figures may appear high, but in their geographical and historical context they are quite normal. Armenia was from ancient times celebrated for its abundance of horses, and the witness of ancient and medieval authors — that regarding the King of Armenia's own cavalry regiment has just been adduced — about the numbers of horse mustered at different times in Caucasia tallies well with these figures.³¹² Nor must it be imagined that all the men fighting on horseback were members of the *azat* nobility. The figures are indeed too high for that. Serving in the cavalry regiments of the Princes and of the King was indeed the privileged duty of that class,³¹³ which need not, however, have excluded their — naturally more numerous — armed attendants, and even members of the occasional levies-in-mass, from benefiting by their country's wealth of horses.

³¹¹ Lewond 25 (120); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 287-288.

³¹² Here are a few data culled at random. The Achaemenian Satrap of Armenia (a fraction of Great Armenia) used to send to the Great King 20,000 foals annually: Strabo 11.14.9. — Mithrobuzanes of Sophene met Lucullus with 2,000 horse: Appian, *Mithr.* 12.84. — An army of Tigranes the Great was 50,000 horse and 250,000 foot: *ibid.* 13.85. — Mithridates Eupator's Armenian auxiliary corps was about 35,000 horse and 70,000 foot: *ibid.* 13.87. — Oroezes of Albania and Artoces of Iberia placed 70,000 men in ambush for Pompey: *ibid.* 15.103. — Amazaspes II of Iberia mustered on one occasion 10,000 horse and 30,000 foot: Leont. Mrov. 55. — Vaxtang I of Iberia mustered 100,000 horse and 60,000 foot: Juanšer 150. — Varaz-Bakur of Gardman dispatched to Vaxtang of Iberia an auxiliary force of 12,000 horse: *ibid.* — The Emperor Phocas claimed from the Armenians under his control 30,000 horse: Sebēos 20 (112); cf. also *supra* at nn. 308, 309, 310, 311. — It may be interesting to compare this with the total number of the forces of the Roman Empire prior to the death of Theodosius the Great: perhaps as high as 650,000; and with the 7,000 horse forming the private retinue of a general like Belisarius: Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* I 40-41, 43.

³¹³ *Introd.* I 69.

19. A comparison has been made earlier between the Armenian Princes and the Princes of the Holy Roman Empire after the Peace of Westphalia. It may be of interest, in this connection, to juxtapose here the list of the cavalry contingents of the former with one of the contingents — mostly infantry — of the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, after the downfall of the Empire.³¹⁴ This difference between horse and foot is in itself an important factor for appreciating the relative political weight of the two groups. On the other hand, however, the abundance of horses in Armenia must also be taken into consideration.

TABLE V
The Respective Military Potential
of

<i>The Princes of Great Armenia</i>	and	<i>The Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine</i>	
Siunia	(1)9,400	Bavaria (K)	30,000
[Arsacids	6,000]	Westphalia (K)	25,000
Gogarene (V)	4,500	Saxony (K)	20,000
Arzanene (V)	4,000	Württemberg (K)	12,000
Mardpetakan ³¹⁵	4,000	Baden (GD)	8,000
Ingilene	3,400	Berg (GD)	5,000
Adiabene (V)	(1)3,200	Hesse (GD)	4,000
Bznuni	3,000	Würzburg (GD)	2,000
Apahuni	1,000	Mecklenburg-Schwerin (D)	1,900
Artsruni	1,000	Saxe-Gotha (D)	1,100
Bagratuni	1,000		
Corduene	1,000		
Gardman	1,000		
Khorkhoruni	1,000		
Mamikonean	1,000		
Manawazean	1,000		
Moxoene	1,000		
Otene	1,000		
Rshtuni	1,000		
Sophene	1,000		
Vahewuni	1,000		
Vanand	1,000		
Zabdicene	1,000		

³¹⁴ *Introd.* I 59-60. — The second list of Table V (slightly re-arranged) is taken from Prince Jean d'Arenberg, *Les Princes du St.-Empire à l'époque napoléonienne* (Louvain 1951) Table XIII 161-162. Like the Armenian Register, it does not show the full potential of the Princes; cf. *ibid.* 162 n. 42. The Germanic contingents were rather predominantly infantry; thus Westphalia's contribution was 20,000 foot, 3,500 horse, 1,500 artillery (*ibid.* 151); Saxony's occasional contribution in 1806 was 4,200 foot, 1,500 horse (*ibid.* 148). — The abbreviations in Table V are: D = duke, GD = grand duke, K = king, P = prince, V = vitaxa.

³¹⁵ *Supra* n. 305.

Kamsarakan	600	Frankfurt (GD)	968
Orduni-Phasiane	600	Nassau-Usingen (D) }	1,680
Andzewats'i	500	Nassau-Weilburg (P) }	
Arawelean	500	Saxe-Weimar (D)	800
Ashots'	500	Oldenburg (D)	800
Colthene	500	Lippe (P)	500
Gnuni	500		
Abelean	300	Mecklenburg-Strelitz (D)	400
Akē	300	Saxe-Coburg (D)	400
Arawenean	300	Waldeck (P)	400
Dimak'sean of Bukha }	600	Arenberg (D)	379
Dimak'sean (of Siracene) }			
Dziunakan	300	Anhalt-Dessau (D)	350
Eruanduni	300	Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (P)	325
Gabelean	300	Schwarzburg-Sondershausen (P)	325
Gnt'uni	300	Saxe-Meiningen (D)	300
Hawenuni	300	Isenburg (P)	291
Mandakuni	300	Anhalt-Bernburg (D)	240
Murats'an	300	Anhalt-Koethen (D)	210
Paluni	300	Saxe-Hildburghausen (D)	200
Saharuni	300		
Slkuni	300		
Spanduni	300		
Trpatuni	300		
Varazhnuni	300		
Zarewand	300		
Habuzhean	100	Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (P)	193
K'ajberuni	100	2 Salm (P)	323
Rop'sean	100	Schaumburg-Lippe (P)	150
		4 Reuss (P)	400
		Hohenzollern-Hechingen (P)	97
		Liechtenstein (P)	40
		Leyen (P)	29

20. So much, then, for the military potential and the Military Register. It remains now to return to the Throne List and to examine another aspect of the problem, that of precedence. Questions of precedence were regarded as a matter of great importance by the princely nobility of Armenia; and the relative position of the princely thrones (*gahk'*) or 'cushions' (*barjk'*) at the Court of their suzerain, whether the King of Great Armenia or the Great King of Iran, was carefully regulated and scrupulously adverted to.³¹⁶

³¹⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 272-277; cf. *supra* § 16 at n. 271. — It was customary, upon the arrival of the Armenian princely auxiliaries at the Court of their imperial suzerain of Iran, for the latter to send a high official to meet them on their way and to pose three or four times the ceremonial formulae of inquiry about the well-being of Armenia, and to inspect their troops; then to receive them himself in the presence of his Court and government and to address to them words of praise concerning individual princes and their ancestors: Eli-

But, as has already been noted, no official document concerned with this matter has reached us. The Throne-List, indeed, is not content with merely indexing the Princes (and adding, in the process, some spurious names), but it also professes to set forth the precedence that obtained among them. This is the only document, in fact, explicitly concerned with precedence. It is not, however — and this, too, has been noted — an official register, but a later bookish compilation, the work of an antiquarian. This alone should incline one to date it from the Arab period.³¹⁷ It tends, moreover, to group together houses of different periods which could not possibly have co-existed at a given moment and thus provided subject matter for it.³¹⁸ Finally, not being an original document, it is compiled on the basis of the data found in the ancient historians. It is to them, accordingly, rather than to the Throne-List, that we must turn in order to obtain first-hand evidence on the princely precedence in Great Armenia.

The Throne-List, however, has left one imprint on historiography: — the idea that it reflects a system of precedence such as it actually existed in Great Armenia of both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid periods and, more generally, that there did obtain in Great Armenia such an absolute and fixed, perennial system. Thus historians are wont to specify which place at Court belonged to which historical house.³¹⁹ And thus Adontz, in culling the data of the ancient historians, gives the impression of believing that he has discovered such a system. Now, when we turn to our sources, the *obiter dicta* of these historians, we indeed find, on their name-studded pages, princely houses mentioned, as occasions arise, in groups. A comparison of these many partial lists shows that names in fact appear to follow a system of precedence. It was these indications, but by no means of all the available historians, that Adontz made use of.³²⁰ He seems to have failed to realize that, even though the ranging of the princely houses in the several lists of one particular period — say, the fifth century with which he was then concerned — does manifest a system of precedence, these lists must nevertheless remain fragmentary,

seus 2 (56). On the other hand, the Great King would occasionally accord a lower rank at his table to a prince in disgrace and raise to a higher one a prince enjoying his favor: Adontz 273.

³¹⁷ Cf. *Introd.* I 56-57: this antiquarian spirit marks Ps. Moses, writing in the mid-eighth century; for this date, see my *Orontids* II 101-102.

³¹⁸ Thus, for instance, the Bznunis and the Murac'ans were not contemporary with the Abejeans and the Gabejeans.

³¹⁹ Accordingly, Grousset, for instance, asserted that the House of Kamsarakan 'dans l'étiquette de l'ancienne cour ... occupait "le quatorzième cousin", or that of ʔštuni 'dans l'ancien protocole royal, occupait "le sixième cousin": *Histoire* 290, 292. Actually, in the Throne-List, their places were the twelfth and the seventh, respectively: *infra* Table XIII.

³²⁰ Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 238-292.

because largely incidental; and this precludes our complete knowledge of what that system was. More than this, the system itself must have varied in the course of centuries, as some dynasties rose in importance and others declined, some houses disappeared from the society of Great Armenia, while new houses arose as a result of branching off from others. Also, although the several general strata — very important, important, less important houses — tend to remain indeed remarkably stable, and that throughout several periods, the relative position of some of the houses found within each stratum is subject to variation. This may be due, in the first place, precisely to the changes in the relative importance of houses; but it may also stem from the fact that several houses enjoyed the same rank and the difference between them was determined accordingly by incidental factors, such as the relative importance of the Crown offices they might additionally hold, or the relative age of the princes. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that these various lists are for the most part in no sense official documents, but historical narratives; and the relative position of the princes mentioned may have also depended on their personal importance for the particular event narrated, or the personal preference, or even the carelessness, of the author. It is clear, then, that, although there is ample evidence that a fixed precedence did in fact exist, subject to evolution, among the Princes of Great Armenia, the evidence of the ancient historians and some documents to be adduced now enables us to discover only what amounts to a relative precedence.

21. The earliest group of documents is the Gregorian Cycle: the Armenian Agathangelus, the Greek Agathangelus, the Greek Life of St. Gregory, and the Arabic Life. All the four monuments contain what has been called earlier (§ 5) the List A of Agathangelus: the list of sixteen princes convoked by Tiridates the Great to a council or, more exactly, sent by him to Caesarea.³²¹ The first two monuments contain also List B: the eleven princes who accompanied King Tiridates on his trip to Rome. All the four versions of List A and the two versions of List B are, despite some variation, reducible respectively to two original lists. The substantial identity of the four, respectively two, versions precludes the possibility of separate interpolations; while the considerable difference in phraseology of the several versions does not permit us to suppose that — *per impossible* — the insertions into the several versions were made by one interested party. Since the Greek Agathangelus appears to have been translated in the years 464-468, the original two lists could not have been very distant in time from the events of the Conversion.³²² The

³²¹ *Supra* at n. 38.

³²² Toumanoff, *Early Bagr.* 26-27; in *Traditio* 5 382-383; and, for the date of the Gk. Agath., Peeters, 'S. Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans le calendrier lapidaire de Naples,' *AB* 60 (1942) 104-112.

presence in the two lists of houses which passed out of the Armenian orbit at the end of the Arsacid period — in the 380's — and the comparatively low place of those of Siunia [§ 12.25], of Khorkhoruni [§ 12.17], and of Artsruni [§ 12.8], which played a very great role already in the fifth century, tend to support this supposition. The lists below, in Table VI, can not be considered at all intended to be exhaustive. They simply give the names of sixteen, respectively eleven, of the greatest princes called by the king of Armenia for the performance of one of their feudal duties, that of giving him advice and of waiting upon him.³²³

TABLE VI

The Princes in the Gregorian Cycle (as c. A.D.300)

List A ³²⁴

1. Ingilene (and Anzitene)
2. Arzanene
3. Mardpet
4. Bagratuni
5. Mamikonean
6. Corduene
7. Sophene
8. Gogarene
9. Rshtuni
10. Moxoene
11. Siunia
12. Zabdicene
13. Otene
14. Zarewand and Her
15. Khorkhoruni
16. Artsruni

List B ³²⁵

1. The Median Vitaxa (of Adiabene)
2. The Syrian (Assyrian) Vitaxa [=A3]
3. The Arabian Vitaxa [=A2]
4. The Iberian (Moschic) Vitaxa [=A8]
5. Ingilene [=A1]
6. Bagratuni [=A4]
7. Mamikonean [=A5]
8. Moxoene [=A10]
9. Siunia [=A11]
10. Rshtuni [=A9]
11. Khorkhoruni [=A15]

The apparent divergence between the two lists can possibly be explained. It would seem that the Mardpet, the Prince of Arzanene, and the Prince of Gogarene were placed in List A in their quality of princes among princes, and in List B according to their office of vitaxa, which indeed carried with it the highest place in the nobiliary hierarchy. The text of List A actually makes this distinction when speaking of the Princes of Arzanene and of Gogarene and then adding that they were, respectively, the Great and the Other Vitaxa; whereas List B mentions simply the four margraves. As for the Houses of Moxoene, Rshtuni, and Siunia, it would appear that they enjoyed an equal status and the fluctuation of their relative position was incidental.

³²³ *Introd.* I 65.

³²⁴ Arm. Agath. 112/795 (403-404); Gk. Agath. 136; Gk. *Life of St. Gregory* 98; Arab. *Life* 86; see *infra*, Supplementary Note C.

³²⁵ Arm. Agath. 126/873 (440-441); Gk. Agath. 165; see *supra*, § 5 at n. 37; *infra*, Supplementary Note C (II).

The attitude of extreme caution which the documents of the Gregorian cycle used to inspire, prior to their rehabilitation by Garitte,³²⁶ prevented Adontz from using them in this connection.

Nor did Adontz attempt to make use of the History of Faustus. This was no doubt due to the fact that there are no long lists in that work, but several very short ones, which at first glance seem to preclude any possibility of establishing a general precedence. This impression is mistaken, however, and on collating the evidence found in 3.7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21; 4.4, 11, 50, and on resolving a few uncertainties in the light of the evidence of the Gregorian cycle, the following is obtained:

TABLE VII
The Princes in Faustus (as in the Fourth Century)

	Mamikonian	
	(Adiabene)	
	Anzitene	
	(Arzanene)	
	Mardpet	
	Bagratuni	
	Corduene	
	Greater Sophene	
	(Gogarene)	
	Rshtuni	
Siunia	Kamsarakan	Lesser Sophene
	Amatuni	
	Asthianene	
	Phasiane	Vanand
	Andzewats'i	
	Colthene	
	Dzor	Kolb
	Khorkhoruni	Gardman
	Saharuni	Artsruni
Gnt'uni	Gnuni	Dimak'sean
Bagean	Habuzhean	Her

Faustus always mentions the Mamikonids first, because they are the protagonists of his History and because of their office of High Constable. The three Vitaxae are mentioned in 4.50 and 5.15 without any indication of their relative position. The uncertainty of the relative precedence of the Houses of Siunia, Kamsarakan, and Lesser Sophene is due to the same fluctuation as is noted in the Gregorian cycle in the case of Siunia, Moxoene, and Rshtuni; we may assume here the same essential coequality. Nor is any precision possible in the relative position of the last twelve houses. Faustus also mentions

³²⁶ *Documents*; cf. my review in *Traditio* 5.373-383.

the extinction of the Houses of Manawazean and Orduni³²⁷ and of the House of Bznuni.³²⁸

22. Faustus is the last historian of the Arsacid period. The opening decades of the post-Arsacid period are covered by Lazarus and Eliseus. Of the two, the former is more important for our purpose; Eliseus often repeats Lazarus, only occasionally differing from him. Against Lazarus, however, his evidence must have little weight; it can only serve to supplement the other.³²⁹ Here, the fluctuation of the relative position among the Princes becomes excessive. Lazarus has no less than seven lists, all of them differing from one another. The first thing to do, therefore, is to show them side by side, with numerals at the head of each indicating the numbers of the chapters of Lazarus' History where they are found. The horizontal lines mark off the four levels, within which the fluctuation occurs while the levels themselves remain stable.

TABLE VIII

A. The Princes in Lazarus and Eliseus (as A.D. 450-451)

23	25	34	36	39	42	47
Siunia Artsruni Khorkhoṛuni Mamikonean	Siunia Artsruni R̥shtuni Khorkhoṛuni Mamikonean	Khorkhoṛuni	Bagratuni Khorkhoṛuni	Khorkhoṛuni	Artsruni	Siunia Artsruni Mamikonean
Vahewuni Moxoene Andzewats'i Apahuni Vanand Kamsarakan Amatuni	Moxoene Apahuni Amatuni Vahewuni Andzewats'i	Kamsarakan	Apahuni Vahewuni		Amatuni Vanand Kamsarakan Andzewats'i	Kamsarakan Amatuni
Gnuni Paluni Ashots' Dimak'sean		Dimak'sean Paluni (Vahewuni)	Paluni	Paluni Gnt'uni Dimak'sean K'ajberuni Gnuni	Amatuni II Gnt'uni Ashots'	Gnuni Dimak'sean (Andzewats'i)
Abeḷean Aṛaweḷean		Dimak'sean II ³³⁰	Abeḷean Urts	Ėntsayats'i Sruandzit	Aṛaweḷean Tashir Artsruni II	Aṛaweḷean Artsruni II Mandakuni Tashir Rop'sean

³²⁷ 3.4. [§ 13.16, 18].

³²⁸ 3.8. [§ 13.6].

³²⁹ Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 242-243.

³³⁰ It is not clear whether the second Dimak'sean is the representative of the second line

Of these lists, only those of Chapters 23 and 42 approximate to official registers, the one being that of the princes assembled in council for drafting a reply to the Great King Yazdgard II's religious edict; the other, that of the princes departing for the Court of Ctesiphon. They, at any rate, may be presumed to be based on official registers. The remaining lists have no official or formal character whatsoever; those of Chapters 34 and 39 record the martyrs in the struggle for the freedom of Christianity in Armenia; that of Chapter 25 gives also the names of the princes going to Ctesiphon, but its informal character seems indicated by the expression 'of the House of ...' prefacing the names; those of Chapters 36 and 47, mentioning, respectively, the princes who took the side of Vasak of Siunia and those who were detained at Ctesiphon, are manifestly parts of the narrative and so likewise informal. This informality may explain why the lists in Chapters 34 and 47 infringe, in the case of the Houses of Vahewuni and Andzewats'i, even the relative position of the four general strata which is otherwise respected even in these informal lists. Adontz was, consequently, right in taking the register of Chapter 23 as basic, though he seems to have overlooked altogether the problem of fluctuation.³³¹ In the text of Lazarus, the Prince of Siunia is always mentioned first, because Vasak of Siunia was at that time the Iranian viceroy (*marzpān*) of Armenia³³² and because also of his role in the narrative. But, more than this, the House of Siunia, as well as those of Artsruni and Khorkhoṛuni, had risen in importance by the mid-fifth century. With the defection of Armenia's outlying provinces at the end of the fourth century, Siunia acquired the importance of a virtual margraviate of the East, its military potential alone, as shown by the Military Register, being sufficient to account for this. Already in the fourth century, a Prince of Siunia acquired, albeit momentarily, the dignity of Vitaxa of Arzanene; and in the sixth, Siunia became so great a state as to form, likewise temporarily, within the Iranian empire, a separate political unit from Armenia.³³³ The Artsrunis, on their part, rose in importance, in the fifth century, first, as representatives of the defunct Vitaxae of Adiabene and, then, as successors to the dignity and the State of the Mardpets.³³⁴ Finally, the Khorkhoṛunis may, too, have acquired a margravian importance after the loss of the Vitaxate of Arzanene, their neighbor in the south.

The list to follow is the result of combining what can be determined on the basis of the two 'official' lists of Lazarus with (1) the other houses mentioned

or merely a younger member of the same line. Adontz thinks that this was an indication of a secundo-geniture: *supra* n. 285.

³³¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 242-248. Not all of the seven lists of Lazarus are adverted to by him.

³³² Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 188-207.

³³³ *Supra* § 9; 12.25.

³³⁴ *Supra* § 12, 8.

in his ‘unofficial’ lists (marked here by an asterisk) and (2) still other houses found in Eliseus, but not in Lazarus (italicized here), which are here fitted into the ‘official’ table in accordance with what indications as to their relative position can, for want of anything more certain, be derived from the texts that refer to them.³³⁵

TABLE IX

B. The Princes in Lazarus and Eliseus (as c. A.D. 450-451)

	Siunia	
	Artsruni	
	*Bagratuni	
	Khorkhoruni	
	Mamikonean	
	*Rshtuni	
	Vahewuni	
	Moxoene	
	Andzewats'i	} coequal ?
	Apahuni	
	Vanand	
	Kamsarakan	
	Amatuni	
	<i>Saharuni</i>	
	Gnuni	
	Paluni	
	Gnt'uni	
	Ashot's	
	Dimak'sean	
	*Eruanduni	
	*K'ajberuni	
	Abelean	<i>Gabelean</i>
	Arawelean	<i>Akē</i>
Dziunakan	*Urts	*Ĕntsayats'i
<i>Slkuni</i>	*Sruandzit	Tashir
<i>K'olean</i>	<i>Trpatuni</i>	*Rop'sean

23. For the first half of the sixth century, we have two important documentary sources, the lists of the Princes who, together with Bishops, took part in the two councils, both held at Dvin, in 505/506 and in 555, which proved to be milestones in the religious history of Armenia, on the road of its progress towards Monophysitism.³³⁶ It is, however, difficult to tell whether the list to follow may be taken as an indication of the precedence that obtained among the Princes of the time, because at this ecclesiastical assembly they may have ranged according to the nature of their association with it, or their age, rather than their princely position. On the other hand, the social monism

³³⁵ The Kamsarakans are often mentioned by their other surname of Aršaruni [§ 12.16].

³³⁶ Toumanoff, *Christian Caucasus* 139, 141-145.

of the country may well have made their participation in the council contingent precisely on that position. The national religion that was born at these two synods was by definition the religion determined by a given single society, whereof the princes, no less than the bishops, were the natural heads. The rise of the Houses of Kamsarakan and of Vanand noted in the acts of these two councils may be due to their succession to the margravian position in the North, which had formerly belonged to the House of Gogarene. Still, the low place assigned to the Prince of Siunia, and also the Prince Vahewuni, is not easy to explain.

TABLE X

The Princes in the Acts of the Council of Dvin of 505/506³³⁷

Mamikonean
Kamsarakan
Bagratuni
Khorkhoruni (Małxaz)
Vanand
Amatuni
Paluni
Dashtakaran
Apahuni
Gnuni
Vahewuni
Siunia
Rshtuni
Arawelean

In the acts of the Council of Dvin of 444, the Princes appear without ceremony, heads of houses as well as cadets, with cadets occasionally preceding the heads. A further complication is due to the fact that not all of the thirty-six persons assembled are designated by their surnames. The hitherto infrequent use of patronymics appears abundant here accompanying the *praenomina*; in one case, only the *praenomen* is given. It is not, therefore, possible to identify all the princes present at the council. However, here is the list of what precedence of families can be established.

TABLE XI

The Princes in the Acts of the Council of Dvin of 555³³⁸

Mamikonean
Khorkhoruni
Vanand

³³⁷ *Bk. Lett.* 42; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 246 n. 1. — In this list the Bagratids are called by their gentilitial title of Aspet and the Xorxorunis by theirs of Małxaz.

³³⁸ *Bk. Lett.* 74; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 246 n. 2. — In this list, as in the preceding one, *małxaz* stands for the Xorxorunis.

Kamsarakan
 Gnuni
 Gabelean
 Abelean
 Dziunakan
 Hawenuni
 Bagratuni
 Vahewuni
 Varazhnuni
 Apahuni

The closing decades of the post-Arsacid period are covered by the historical work of Bishop Sebēos. Like other ancient historians, he mentions in the course of his narrative all the princely houses of Armenia that played any role in the events of the time. There are, however, only four brief lists in that work. Adontz did not attempt to find out what system of precedence might be elicited from Sebēos, satisfying himself instead with an alphabetical list of all the houses mentioned by him.³³⁹ He was, however, unduly pessimistic, for these four lists do in fact establish a kind of precedence. Of these, only one in Chapter 11 can be regarded as 'official,' that is, as based possibly on official registers or at all events bound to observe the precedence of the time because of its nature: it is the list of the princes departing on a mission to the Court of Ctesiphon. The other lists are rather incidental to the narrative. What complicates the data of Sebēos is that, unlike Lazarus, whose official lists give heads of families only, the former's lists are mixed, containing heads as well as cadets. This must doubtless render whatever system of precedence we can obtain less certain, for obviously the cadet of a greater house need not have preceded the head of a lesser one. On the following table, the asterisk marks the heads of houses and the names found in the other, 'unofficial,' lists are placed in square brackets.

TABLE XII

The Princes in Sebēos (A.D. 591-629)³⁴⁰

Mamikonean	
Bagratuni	
[Khorkhoruni]	
Vahewuni*	
Artsruni	
Mamikonean	[Tayk'*(= Mamikonean II)]
Siunia	
[Apahuni]	
[Apahuni II*]	
Arawelean	Amatuni

³³⁹ *Ibid.* 247 n. 1.

³⁴⁰ Sebēos 11 (90); also 6 (76-77), 18 (104), 30 (175).

[Colthene*]
[Dimak'sean]
[Trpatuni]

Finally, we may adduce here the precedence as given in the only monument devoted *ex professo* to the question of precedence — the Throne-List. It has been noted that this monument in itself has no independent worth, being based on various primary sources, some of which are known to us, but others not. In this, in the fact that it may reflect some primary sources unknown to us, is its value: it complements what has been established on the evidence of the known primary sources. Its evidence on the secundo- and tertio-genitures is, for instance, quite important (Table IV). With the omission of all the fantastic names that are found in it,³⁴¹ the following is obtained:

TABLE XIII
The Princes in the Throne-List³⁴²

1. Siunia	21. Gnt'uni	41. Habuzhean
2. Bagratuni	23. Gardman	43. Dziunakan
3. Artsruni	25. Saharuni	44. Akē
4. Mamikonean	26. Gabelean	45. Zarehawanean
5. Lesser Sophene	27. Abelean	46. Ėntsayats'i
6. Moxoene	28. Siunia II	47. Mandakuni
7. Ršhtuni	29. Artsruni II	48. Słkuni
8. Vah[ew]uni	30. Artsruni III	50. Eruanduni
10. Andzewats'i	31. Mamikonean II	51. Spanduni
11. Apahuni	32. Rop'sean	52. Arawenean
12. Kamsarakan	33. Ashots'	53. Tr[pat]uni
13. Apahuni II	34. Dimak'sean =	55. Hawenuni
14. Vanand	35. = Dimak'sean of Bukha	57. K'ajberuni
15. Amatuni	36. Abelean II	61. Varazhnuni
16. Colthene	37. Dimak'sean II	63. Vanand II
17. Gnuni	38. Paluni	67. Dimak'sean of Siracene
18. Andzewats'i II	39. Arawelean	69. Murats'an

24. The above tables demonstrate that, as has been noted earlier (§ 20), the princely houses of Great Armenia tended, through several historical phases, to be divided into several strata — very important, important, less important — and these strata remained, on the whole, rather stable, whatever may be said of the variations within each stratum and the occasional passing from one stratum to another. These several layers of precedence, moreover, correspond rather faithfully, though with a few exceptions, to the several strata of military potential, as shown in the Military Register.

³⁴¹ *Supra* n. 277.

³⁴² *Supra* n. 274. The numeration is that of the List; the spelling of the List has been corrected.

Another thing worth noting is that the majority of the houses unknown before the post-Arsacid period (§ 14) belong decidedly to the stratum of the less important houses from the point of view of both precedence and military potential. This may serve to support the supposition that they were mere cadet branches of older dynasties.³⁴³

25. In conclusion, the dynastic aristocracy of Iberia, as it existed in the formative centuries, is to be examined here. It has been pointed out in Part One of this *Introduction* that the Iberian Crown was more powerful vis-à-vis the dynasts than was the Armenian; and that, as a result, the feudal office of duke was not, as in Armenia, integrally united with every principedom. There were a few duchies, each comprising several lands, which were thus the equivalent of the Armenian provinces. But, while the latter were a mere geographical expression, the former were units of feudal government: in this the Iberian dukes were, on a reduced scale, the equivalents of the Armenian Vitaxae.³⁴⁴ It appears that originally the dukes, though recruited from the princely caste for the most part, may not have been all hereditary.³⁴⁵ At all events, we have traces of but a very few ducal dynasties; but, then, the sources for the period in which we are interested are so sparse as to contain even less information on the princely dynasties of Iberia. What follows sums up our knowledge of the composition of the dynastic aristocracy of Iberia in the period which corresponds to the post-Arsacid period in Armenia and, in one case [5], in what corresponds to the Arsacid period.

1. The royal house of the Chosroids was a branch of the Iranian house of Mihrān coming to the throne of Iberia at the turn of the fourth century in the person of St. Mirian, the first Christian King of Iberia. This dynasty was dispossessed in 580, when the Iberian Monarchy was abolished by the Great King on the demand of the Iberian dynasts. Thereafter, the elder line of the royal house continued as Princes of Kakhétia, its old demesne, but

³⁴³ I do not think it a valid argument to say, as one might, that the post-Arsacid houses were in reality always there, but that Faustus and the Gregorian cycle omit all mention of them because of their comparative unimportance, because a number of houses of the same political weight are found in them, as Tables VII (Zarewand) and VII (Gnt'uni Dimak'sean, Bagean, Habužean, Her[-Zarewand]) will show. Adontz, on the other hand, was inclined to think that Ps. Moses failed to mention certain houses because their military potential was below 300 horse; yet he mentions the Rop'seans whose contribution was 100 (this Adontz would explain by their royal origin) and omits, as Adontz himself is bound to admit, several other houses whose contribution was precisely 300 (Saharuni, Paluni, Eruanduni): *Armenija* 264-265. The obvious reason for Ps. Moses's omissions is the early extinction of these houses, whose comparative lack of importance made them escape the notice of the eighth-century antiquarian.

³⁴⁴ *Introd.* I 88-90, to be completed by *supra* § 11.

³⁴⁵ *Introd.* I 89.

three members of it came, in the years 627-684/5 to the office of Presiding Prince of Iberia. It became extinct in the early ninth century.³⁴⁶

2. The Guaramids, or the younger branch of the Chosroid-Mihranid royal house of Iberia. While the elder branch of the Chosroids of Kakhetia [*I*] stemmed from the first marriage (c. 459) of King Vakhtang I Gorgasal of Iberia (c. 447-522/3), with Belendukht, daughter of the Great King Hormizd III, this branch was descended from his son Leo, born of the second wife of the King, Helen, a relative of the Imperial house (485/486). Leo and his brother were given the Archduchy of West Iberia, composed of the Duchies of Cholarzene, Odzrkhe, and the western half of that of Tsunda, of which, however, they were soon deprived by the elder line and left as Princes of Cholarzene and Javakhet'i. Five members of this house were Presiding Princes of Iberia in the years 588-627, 684/5-c. 748, c. 780-786, three with the dignity of Curopalate bestowed by the Imperial Court. In 786 this house became extinct and its State passed to the Iberian branch of the Bagratids [§ 12.9].³⁴⁷

3. The Juansherids were an offshoot of the royal Chosroids whose principedom consisted of lands in Inner Iberia and in Kakhetia, last heard of with the historian Juansher c. 790-800.³⁴⁸

4. The Vitaxae of Gogarene (see § 10-11).³⁴⁹

5. The Bagratids appear to have penetrated West Iberia as early as the second century and acquired there the Duchy of Odzrkhe, in the possession of which they are last heard of in the reign of King Vakhtang I, in the fifth century. This branch is not to be confused with another, which passed to Iberia after 772.³⁵⁰

6. The Nersianids, appearing in the fifth century, in the reign of King Vakhtang I, figure in the eighth as Dukes of Inner Iberia and twice occupied the office of Presiding Prince of Iberia, in the years c. 748 - c. 780, the first occupant of this office, Adarnase III, was, in addition, a Curopalate.³⁵¹

7. The Princes of Kola, in the upper valley of the Cyrus, north of the Armenian land of Vanand, appear in the Iberian sources, as about the time of the Conversion of Iberia (early fourth century). Unlike the first five houses, but like the Nersianids, they seem to have been of local origin.³⁵²

³⁴⁶ *Supra* § 11; *Iberia* 17 n. 2; § 7-12, 17-19, 21-24, 26, 31, 32-34; *Geneal. Table ad p.* 258.

³⁴⁷ *Iberia* § 8, 11, 14, 16-17, 19, 21, 24, 27, 29, 31-32, 35; *Geneal. Table ad p.* 258; *Bagr. of Iber.* § 9, 12.

³⁴⁸ *Iberia* 218; *Bagr. of Iber.* n. 113 (date of Ĵuanšer).

³⁴⁹ My considering the Princes of Jorap'or, Kol'ap'or, Ašoc', and Tašir as Iberian was erroneous: *Introd.* I n. 226; and so was my placing the Princes of Gardman (*not* Garbadani) among the 'vassals' of the Chosroid Arč'il, in *Iberia* 219 (see, for this, *Bagr. of Iber.* § 17-19).

³⁵⁰ *Orontids* II 87.

³⁵¹ *Iberia* 219, § 25-29, 31; *Geneal. Table ad p.* 258.

³⁵² *Bagr. of Iber.* § 10.

In the Arab period and thereafter offshoots of the Armenian dynasties of the Amatunis [§ 12.3], the Bagratids [§ 12.9], the Kamsarakans [§ 12.16], and the Mamikonids [§ 12.18] established themselves in Iberia, the Bagratids even ascending the throne, and various other local dynastic houses begin to appear in the sources; but all this is beyond the scope of this study.

26. The West Georgian, or Colchian, dynastic aristocracy of the sceptuchs has been mentioned in the first part of this *Introduction*. The vicissitudes of West Georgian history, its passing under the rule of the foreign — Mithridatid and Polemonid — dynasties and, then, as a province, under the direct control of Rome³⁵³ do not appear to have affected to any extent its social structure. The dynasts must have continued under foreign rule exactly as they had subsisted under the Colchian Monarchy of old, and the authors of the first and second centuries reveal the existence along the Black Sea littoral of a few people-states, under dynasts styled kings some of whom were vassals of the Roman Emperor.³⁵⁴ Two of these States came to play a great role in Georgian history. They will be mentioned first, and in the order of their accession to greatness, on the list which now follows.

1. The Princes, later Kings, of Lazica ruled at first the southwesternmost section of the Euxine littoral (modern Chanet'i), where Arrian mentions King Malassas in 131, and then, in the mid-fifth century, conquered the whole of Roman Colchis (West Georgia), forming the Kingdom of Lazica, as successor of the Colchian Monarchy. This kingdom proved an apple of discord between Rome and Iran in the reign of Justinian. This dynasty is last heard of with Tzathus II, installed in 555; and after the Romano-Iranian treaty of 561, Lazica tends to disappear from the sources.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ *Introd.* I 35-36, 37.

³⁵⁴ Strabo 11.2.13 (the Heniochi under four kings); 11.2.19 (the Soanes under a king); Arrian, *Periplus of the Euxine* (A.D. 131) 15 (Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Μαχέλορες καὶ Ἡνίοχοι · βασιλεὺς δ' αὐτῶν Ἀγχίαλος ... Λαζοί · βασιλεὺς δὲ Λαζῶν Μαλάσσας, δς τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ σοῦ [scil. the Emperor Hadrian] ἔχει. Λαζῶν δὲ Ἀπίλαι ἔχονται · βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν Ἰουλιανός · οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει. Ἀπίλαις δὲ ὄμοροι Ἀβασκοί · καὶ Ἀβασκῶν βασιλεὺς Πησμάγας · καὶ οὗτος παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει. Ἀβασκῶν δὲ ἐχόμενοι Σανίγαι, ἵνα περ καὶ ἡ Σεβαστόπολις ᾤκισται. Σανίγων βασιλεὺς Σπαδάγας ἐκ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει). There are other references, as in Pliny and Ptolemy, but they concern these and other groups as ethnic units without any indication of their political and dynastic structure. — See, for all this, Javaxišvili, *K'artl'*. *er. ist.* I 3-6, 28-30, 166, 173-175, 230-232; Gugushvili, *Table* 1-2, 149-152; *Division* 55-56; Lang, *Stud. in Num. Hist.* 6-11.

³⁵⁵ The sources for the Kingdom of Lazica (Egrisi, in Georgian) include Arrian (*supra* n. 354), Procopius, Menander, Agathias, Malalas, *Chron. Pasch.*, Theophanes; see Javaxišvili, *K'artl'*. *er. ist.* I 239-240, 243-244, 246-262, 274-276; Gugushvili, *Table* 152-153; *Division* 56-58; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* I (Desclée de Brouwer 1959) 352-353, 357; II 267-271, 303, 492-494, 503-521; Brosset, in *Additions et éclaircissements à l'His-*

2. The Princes of Abkhazia, later Kings of Abasgia, were the successors and possibly descendants of King Rheshmagas, mentioned by Arrian in 131, and their genealogy went back to the beginning of the fifth century. In the sixth and seventh centuries there were simultaneously two kings, or princes, of this northwesternmost coastal province of West Georgia, possibly representing two lines of the dynasty. In the 790's, Leo II of Abkhazia conquered the whole of West Georgia or Lazica from what Imperial control there was after the dissolution of the Lazic Monarchy, and founded the new West Georgian Monarchy of Abasgia. Theodosius III, the last sovereign of this house, was deposed in 978 and the throne passed to Bagrat III, son of the Bagratid [§ 12.9] King of Iberia and of Gurandukht of Abasgia, Theodosius' sister. With this, the House of Abasgia disappeared from history, although a princely house of Georgia has claimed descent from it, and the Bagratids united the two Georgias. The land of Abkhazia was ruled from the eleventh century by the House of Sharvashidze, dispossessed by the Russians in 1864.³⁵⁶

toire de la Géorgie (St. Petersburg 1851) 81-107; Herrmann s. v. 'Lazai,' RE 12.1042-1043; V. Minorsky s. v. 'Lāz,' *Encycl. of Islam* 3/37.20-22; A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950) 255-268. — There are two rulers of Lazica mentioned, respectively, c. 662 and 696/697, who appear to have been Presiding Princes of Lazica, and as such no doubt local dynasts or even scions of the royal house. One is *Lebarnicius, patricius Lazicae* (*Hypomnestikon* of Theodosius and Theodore, priests of Gangra: PG 90.195), the other, *Σέργιος ὁ πατρίκιος τῆς Λαζικῆς καὶ* [var. *ὁ τοῦ Βαγρονκίου*], who revolted against the Empire and submitted to the Arabs (Theophanes, *Chron.* 752: *Καὶ ἐστασίασε Σ. ... καὶ ταύτην τοῖς Ἀραβῶν ὑπέταξεν*; [var. *Γεώργιος, Βαγρονκίου*]; the near-contemporary Latin transl. of Anastasius the Librarian, made in the second half of the ninth century, has: 'seditioneque Sergius concitata, patricius Lazicae, hanc Arabibus subdit' PG 108.1340; this rules out the variant of the *praenomen*). There can be little doubt that 'Lebarnicius' is another rendering of the same name as 'Barnucius,' which would make the two Patricians of Lazica father and son. I cannot share Ingoroqva's assurance in making of them members of the House of Abkhazia [2], by equating 'Lebarnicius-Barnucius' with Baruk in the genealogy of that house and thus ascribing to Baruk's son Demetrius a brother George (not Sergius!): *Giorgi Merč'ule* (Tiflis 1954) 193, 194, 196.

³⁵⁶ The sources include Arrian (*supra* n. 354); Procopius; Anastasius Apocrisiarius, Letter to Theodore of Gangra PG 90.175 ('amici Christi principes Abasgiae'), 176 (the third Prince of Apsilia and Misimiana [3] died in January 665 'apud Christi amicum Abasgiae principem'); Theophanes, *Chron.* 792 (ὁ δὲ Ἀβασγῶν κύριος); *Martyrdom of St. Abo* (786/790); Juanšer (790/800); *Divan of the Kings* (embodying the genealogy of the House of Abasgia) by Bagrat III († 1014); *Chron. Iber.*; see Javaxišvili, *K'art' er. ist.* 254-255; Gugushvili, *Table* 120-122, 139-140; *Division* 54, 58; Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merč'ule* 189-249 (cf. *supra* n. 255); Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Empire* II 304, 507; Peeters, 'Les Khazars dans la Passion de S. Abo de Tiflis,' AB 52 (1934) 21-56; S. Janašia, 'O vremeni i uslovijax vzniknovenija Abxazskogo carstva,' *Bulletin de l'Institut Marr* 8 (1940) 137-152; Allen, *History* 81, 83-84. Z. Avalichvili, 'La succession du eucroalate David d'Ibérie, dynaste de Tao,' *Byzantion* 8 (1933); Toumanoff, *Chronology of the Kings of Abasgia* 73-82; Brosset, *Additions* 174. — The princely house of Anč'abaje (with its branches of Anč'abaje-Abxazi and Mač'abeli)

3. The Princes of Apsilia and Misimiana, on the southeastern border of Abkhazia, appear in 131 with King Julianus and are no longer heard of after 705/711.³⁵⁷

4. The Princes of Machelones and the Heniochi are mentioned in Strabo and, with King Anchialus A.D. 131, in Arrian.³⁵⁸

5. The Princes of Suania, the country lying east of Abkhazia, are known already in the first century; in 131, they appear, with King Spadagas of the Sanigae; at that early epoch they had access to the sea near the city of Dioscurias-Sebastopolis. In the sixth century, being cut off from the littoral, they played an unwilling role in the Romano-Iranian struggle, wavering between the two empires and their immediate overlords, the Kings of Lazica. After the eleventh century, Suania was ruled successively by the Houses of Gelovani and Dadeshk'eliani, surviving to this day, and was annexed to the Russian Empire in 1858.³⁵⁹

The sources for the Arab period and thereafter show the existence of numerous dynasties in West Georgia, exactly as in Iberia; and many of these houses of United Georgia survived the Bagratid Monarchy and, through the Russian annexation of the nineteenth century, found themselves incorporated

of Georgia and the Russian Empire bears the same name as that given to the ancient House of Abasgia: Allen, *loc. cit.*; Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga* III 480-481; *Sbornik svjedenij o kavkazskix gorcax* 6 (Tiflis 1872) 29. — For the House of Šarvašije, Dukes (from the eleventh century) and (from the fifteenth) Princes of Abkhazia, see Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* II/1 (St. Petersburg 1856) Add. ix, Tables généal. 649-650; Dolgorukov III 56-57; *Spiski* 103-104; Allen 107, 122, 137, 189, 207; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie* (Paris 1951) 390-394; Gugushvili, *Table* 145. — Distinction is made here between the nucleal land of Abkhazia and the West Georgian Monarchy of Abasgia: both are *Ap'xazel'i* in Georgian and *'Αβασγία* in Greek; cf. my *Chronology* 73.

³⁵⁷ Arrian (*supra* n. 354); Procopius; Agathias; Menander; Anastasius Apocr. 174-175; Theophanes, *Chron.* 796, 797 (Marinus of Apsilia); see Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 303, 507, 515, 812; Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merč'ule* 126-127, 140-145.

³⁵⁸ *Supra* n. 354.

³⁵⁹ Strabo; Arrian (*supra* n. 354); Procopius; Menander; Priscus; see Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Empire* I 357; II 303; K. Güterbock, *Byzanz und Persien* (Berlin 1906) 106-108; Gugushvili, *Division* 54-55, 56. For the identity of the root S-N (*Introd.* I 20-21) in both 'Suania' and 'Sanigae', see Allen, *History* 28. That the Saniges of Arrian represent the Suanians, then still lingering on the littoral, there can be little question. The Soanes of Strabo (11.2.19) dwell in the neighborhood of the city of Dioscurias (modern Suxum), and the Saniges of Arrian, in the vicinity of 'Sebastopolis,' which is the name Arrian gives to the same Dioscurias: cf. V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate* (Paris 1907) 214, 366-367; C. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* I 2 (Paris 1901) ix, p. 922 (note). — For the House of Gelovani, Dukes (from the eleventh century) and (from the fifteenth) Princes of Suania, as well as that of Dadešk'eliani, succeeding it in the eighteenth century, see Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* 1/2 433; Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga* III 471; Manvelichvili, *Histoire* 387-390; Gugushvili, *Table* 145; Allen, *History* 137, 207. — Suania = Georg. Svanet'i.

in the nobility of the Russian Empire. All this is outside the scope of this work.

17. The little that is known of the dynastic aristocracy of Albania during the formative centuries comes from the *History of Albania*, ascribed to Moses of Kałankaytuk', or of Daskhurēn.³⁶⁰ The following houses — the first three of them are given in the order of their accession to the rule of the country and the others are listed in the alphabetical order — are historically identifiable.

1. The royal house of Aṛanshahik, traditionally descended from the divine eponym of the Albanians, Aṛan, a descendant, in turn, of Hayk, is the first known royal dynasty of Albania and possibly the one which, through the subordination to itself of the other fellow-dynasts, achieved the unification of the realm and gave birth to the Albanian Monarchy. Superseded in the mid-first century by the Arsacids, this dynasty was nearly exterminated in the sixth century by the Mihranids of Gardman, who, in 628, were to acquire the Principate of Albania replacing the Arsacid Monarchy. The Aṛansahiks, however, survived in one branch, settled at Gis, in Otene, down to the ninth century and may possibly have continued, down to the tenth, as the Kings of trans-Cyran Albania, at Shakkī and Heret'i.³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ Kałankatuac'i or Dasxuranc'i. The compilation ascribed to him is brought down to the late tenth century and continued to the beginning of the twelfth: Abelyan, *Ist. dreve-arm. lit.* I 390-391; Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 11-16; C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i* (London Oriental Series 8, Oxford 1961) xi-xx.

³⁶¹ The earliest royal house of Albania is said by the historical tradition to have been descended from the divine eponym of the Albanians, Aṛan, himself in turn a descendant of Hayk: P. Moses 2.8; Moses Kał. 1.4,6,15. (For the Armenian Arsacid provenance of the linking of the Albanian royalty with the Armenian eponym, see Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 145.) Whether derived from Aṛan the eponym, or parallelly with it from the ethnicon Aṛan (= Albania: *Introd.* I 52 and n. 114), the term Aṛanšahik/Eṛanšahik can manifestly have been used to designate only the Albanian kings; cf. Krymskij, *Stranicy iz istorii* 290 n. 3. For Krymskij (followed by me in *Introd.* I 35 n. 69 [= 36]), this was the title of the Albanian Arsacids. Yet Moses Kał. everywhere distinguishes between the latter and the House of Aṛanšahik; and so also do Trever (235) and Dowsett (*Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 108 n.3), neither of which was available to me when writing *Introd.* I. The House of Aṛanšahik must, thus, have been the pre-Arsacid royal house and its descendants. It was, however, the hostility not of the Arsacids, but of the Mihranids of Gardman that exterminated this family, with the exception of Zarmihr, who was married to a Mihranid princess: Moses Kał. 2.17. In 1.27, Varaz P'erož of the House of Aṛanšahik is mentioned as settled at Gis; it is there that the House of Varaz P'erož is mentioned (as in the seventh century) in 2.32, where it is said to bear the title of *lak'nar* ('Butler'?: cf. Dowsett, 137 n. 3). Vač'agan Eṛanšahik defended Albania against the Khazars in 714: 3.16; and in the ninth century, Sahl i Smbatean, designated as both an Eṛanšahik and a Zaṛmirhakan, played a considerable role in eastern Caucasia: Moses Kał 3.20, 21; cf. V. Minorsky, 'Caucasica IV,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 1953 15/3, 505-510. Sahl's patronymic, on the other hand, may indicate a Begratid origin: Toumanoff, *Early Bagr.* 44-54, 39 (where I was in error considering the

2. The royal house of the Arsacids, reigning in Albania from the first to the end of the fifth century. The end of the Arsacid Monarchy left the realm, it seems, under the joint governance — precisely as in Armenia and, later, in Iberia — of the Great King's viceroy and the local princely families, of which that of Gardman achieved, under Imperial suzerainty, a hegemony, as Princes of Albania, over the country. A branch of the Arsacids, settled at Azbēt, survived till the beginning of the eighth century.³⁶²

3. The Princes of Gardman (the Mihranids) [§ 13.9].

4. The Princes of Dashtakaran [§ 14.3].

5. The Princes of Dzorap'or (see § 11).

6. The Princes of Kołbap'or (see § 11).

7. The Princes of Kołt', ascribed a descent from the Kings of Atropatene, surviving till the beginning of the eighth century.³⁶³

8. The Princes of Otene [§ 13.19].

A few more houses mentioned in the *History of Albania* must remain for us but empty names.³⁶⁴ Albanian society and polity were wholly destroyed by the tidal waves of Islam and of the Mongols.

Siunid Atrnerseh, son of Sahl, who married the last Mihranid princess, a son of Sahl i Smbatean). Possibly the *émigré* Bagratids succeeded in Albania to the House of Aṛanšahik, precisely as they succeeded in Iberia to that of the Guaramids. At all events, the subsequent Kings of trans-Cyran Albania (Šakkī-Heret'i; for this, see my *Bagr. of Iber.* I note 26) may have been of the dynasty of Sahl i Smbatean: Dowsett 221 n. 6.

³⁶² Moses Kał. 3.10; cf. 3.8.

³⁶³ Moses Kał. 3.10; cf. 2.32; 3.8.

³⁶⁴ Moses Kał. 2.32 (as of the seventh century): the Houses of Čnšmi (Čnšmiyan) and Mamšeļ (Mamšeļun) in Sacasene, Hejeri beyond the Cyrus; the 'Sacristan' Varažan at Aražakan, and Tuerak. The 'Sacristan Varažan' is Dowsett's rendering (*Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 137) of *Varažanu spasatunn*; this may be explained in the light of the lay adoption of ecclesiastical titles which can be seen manifested in the title of Chorepiscopus borne, somewhat later, by the neighboring Princes of Kakhetia. One may venture, on the other hand, to see here a reference to the Armenian house of Varažnuni [§ 12.29]: a corrupt form of something like *Varažnuni orsapet* [= Master of the Chase, *supra* n. 279], and an indication of this dynasty's connection with Albania. In Moses Kał. 3.10 (as at the beginning of the eighth century) are mentioned also, by *praenomina* and patronymics (with the Persian *idāfat*), the following: Vahan i Varaz-Yohanean, of the Madianac'ik' of Iran (Dowsett 197 n. 2: Midianites, or inhabitants of Ctesiphon = Madā'in), a Jacobite settled in Cambyzene; Rostom i Varazk'oyean, originating from Stahr in Iran and settled at Kałankaytuk', in Otene; and 'the sons of the lords of Dailam' Zarmihr i Varaz-K'urdakean and Mahmat Šeroyan; cf. 3.8. The last three items, as well as some other names with personal patronymics found elsewhere, contain no indication as to the families involved.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Note A (cf. n. 203 *supra*)

THE MIHRANID VITAXAE

The following Mihranid Vitaxae are known:

- (1) P^{ER}OZ, son-in-law and kinsman of Mirian of Iberia.
- (2) The SON OF P^{ER}OZ, whose daughter became the second queen of King Aspacures (Varaz-Bak'ar/Varaz-Bakur) of Iberia c. 378: Leont. Mrov. 135.
- (3) ARŠUŠA I, protector of St. Mesrop, c. 430, then still Prince of Tašir: Koriwn 15.3; Ps.Moses 3.60.
- (4) ARŠUŠA II (identical with No. 3?), † c. 470, husband of Anušvram, whose sister Juik was the wife of Hmayeak the Mamikonid; he played an important role in Armeno-Iberian affairs c. 451 and was *persona grata* at the Court of Ctesiphon; the celebrated gem must be his: *Mart. St. Susan* 1 (34); Lazarus 25, 26, 31, 62; cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 269-277, 279; Akinean, *Koriwn* 102-103 (considers Nos 3 and 4 as identical).
- (5) VA(R)SK'EN, son of the preceding, apostatized under the Mazdaist pressure of the Great King and on 17 Oct. 475 martyred his Christian wife, St. Susan (Šušanik), daughter of Vardan II, Prince of the Mamikonids: *Mart. St. Susan passim*, and various hagiographical documents deriving from this monument (*Arm. Epitome*; *Georg. Epitome*; *Arm. Synaxarion*, 1, 2; the epitome in Ux-tanēs, *Hist. cap. 67* [Vaġaršapat 1871]; in Peeters' Latin transl. *op. cit.* 40-48); Tarchnišvili, *Gesch. d. kirchl. georg. Lit.* 83-87, esp. 85 (for the date of the martyrdom); cf. my *Caucasia and Byz. Studies* 413, 424. In recompense for his apostasy, Varsk'en received from the Great King the viceroyalty of Albania and the hand of his daughter: Juanšer 216 (for the imbroglio in connection with this source, see *Caucasia and Byz. Studies* 415-416; *Iberia* 235-236; see *Mart. St. Susan* 2 (35), 10 (39) for indications of Varsk'en's connection with the Albanian frontier (Heret'i); and 1 (35) for the second marriage, which possibly was the chief reason for the murder of Susan. In 482, Vaxtang I, King of Iberia and overlord of Varsk'en, put the apostate to death: Lazarus 66 (259); Juanšer 216; *Royal List* II 63; cf. my *Christian Caucasica* 163 and n. 237.
- (6) JOJIK, brother of Varsk'en: *Mart. St. Susan passim* (e. g., 5 [36], 6 [37], 10[39]). He may have succeeded his brother in the minority of his children: Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 271, 279, 296.
- (7) BAKUR (son of Varsk'en?), married c. 500 Xuaramze, daughter of Vaxtang I of Iberia: Juanšer 199.
- (8) ARŠUŠA III, mentioned in 540/541: *Mart. St. Eustace* 2 (47); cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge* 432, 387 n. 1.
- (9) ARŠUŠA IV, one of the Iberian princes A.D. 608: Cyrion I, Katholikos of Iberia, to Smbat IV, Prince of the Bagratids, *Bk. Lett.* 170-171; cf. Markwart, *loc. cit.*
- (10) VAHRAM-ARŠUŠA V, sided with the Great King against the Emperor Heraclius and was captured in the battle of 12 Dec. 627: Theophanes, *Chron.* 661: ἐκρατήθη δὲ ζῶν Βαρσαμούσης [variant: Βαρσαμοίσης] ἀρχων τῶν Ἰβήρων τῶν ὑπὸ Πέρσας καὶ Ῥωμαίους γεγονότων; cf. Markwart 143, 397 n. 1.

There seems to be no need for splitting this personage into two as Markwart tends to.

(11) ARŠUŠA VI — 'The Vitaxa of the House of P'eroz, who was prince in T'ialet'i, Taširi, and Aboc'i [= Arm. Ašoc']' married the second daughter of Mihr(ian), head of the dispossessed Chosroids of Iberia, c. 748: Juanšer 241; cf. Toumanoff, *Iberia* 211-212. Juanšer does not give his *praenomen*, but in the *Roy. List* III 66 mention is made, as among various Iberian dynasts of the eighth century, of a Curopalate Aršuša. This *praenomen* indicates his belonging to the House of Gogarene; so most probably both sources refer to one and the same personage. But the dignity of Curopalate was reserved by the Court of Constantinople for the Presiding Princes who had replaced the abeyant Crowns of Armenia and Iberia; and the title is misplaced in the *Roy. List*: *Iberia* 45 n. 9, 215, 237. A lesser dynast, like him of Gogarene, especially when somewhat reduced in importance after the fifth century, would normally have received the patriciate. And, as a matter of fact, there exists an inscription, undated it is true, on a stone of the *mamp'al* Aršuša the Patrician: T'aqaišvili, in *Izvestija Kavkazskago Otdjelenija Imp. Mosk. Arxeolog. Obščestva* 1 (1904) 65-66. It is presumable that it refers to the same Vitaxa. The title of *mamp'al*, which now makes its first appearance, seems to have become something of a gentilitia title of the later Vitaxae: Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merčule* 72.

(12) An inscription of the year 772, in the Samšvilde basilica, makes mention of the Lords of Taširi, 'Vitaxae by origin (*načesavič pitiaxšni*)': Ingoroqva 72 n. 2; *Jvel. k'art. matiane* 298. This may imply the loss of the Vitaxate by the Mihranid dynasty sometime prior to the date of the inscription. Else, the existence of a new cadet branch appanaged in Tašir may be indicated. Another inscription from the Bolnisi cathedral, held to be of the eighth century, refers to the *mamp'al* DAVID and his sons, and to the *mamp'al* ABUL: G. Čubinašvili, *Bolniskij Sion* (*Bulletin de l'Institut Marr* 9, 1940) 74-75; Ingoroqva 72 n. 2. By the end of the tenth century, a certain *marzpan* Demetrius, Prince of Gag, is recorded as attempting to set up his son as *mamp'al* (*mamp'uł*) of Tašir: Asolik, *Univ. Hist.* 3. 30. This may have been the last echo of the Vitaxae attempting to regain possession of some of their domains, now firmly in Bagratid hands. It seems likely, too, that a female descent is implied here, otherwise Demetrius would have claimed that position for himself. Finally, we have the last echoes of a vanished institution, the projection by subsequent historians of the title of vitaxa upon various Bagratids, so largely the successors of the old dynasty, notably, by Juanšer 244 (on Ašot IV of Armenia: *Bagr. of Iber.* II n. 64; in this sense my *Orontids* II 103-104 is to be corrected), and by Stephen Orbelian, in Brosset's transl. *Hist. de la Siounie* I (St. Petersburg 1864). 118, 172 (on Adarnase IV of Iberia and Gurgēn II of Tao: *Bagr. of Iber.* I No 25). — It remains to add that while 'Ašuša' is the Armenian variant of the name so often borne by the Vitaxae, 'Aršuša' is the Georgian — and more correct — variant. Also, 'Varsk'en' is the form of the *Mart. St. Susan* and the *Roy. List*. 'Vask'en' of Juanšer as we now have his text, 'Vazgēn' is the Armenian form: cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 271 n. 3. The original form of this name may have been 'Varaz-gēn.'

Note B (cf. n. 205 *supra*)

THE VITAXAE AND THE DIARCHY OF IBERIA

The historiography of the Vitaxae of Gogarene has recently been complicated by the Soviet-Georgian scholar P. Ingoroqva, who, in his *Jvel. k'art. matiane*, made an attempt to correlate the onomastic evidence of the Armazi find with the story of the Diarchy of Iberia as found in Leontius of Ruisi, 43-54, and, in an abbreviated form, in the *Royal List*. I 49-50. It has been recognized by Javaxišvili (*K'art. er. ist.* I [3rd ed. Tiflis 1928] 216, but not in the 4th ed. 235-236), S. Gorgaje ('Carileba Sak'art'velos istoriidan,' *L'Ancienne Géorgie* 2 [1913] 26-28), and Melikset-Bekov (*Armazni* 28-32) that the story of the division of Iberia, allegedly from about the mid-first to about the mid-second century, between two lines of the royal house, one of them residing at Mc'xet'a north of the Cyrus, the other south of it, at Armazi, is but a *livresque* reflexion of true history, which must have been quite different.

The artificiality of the story is quite palpable. There is no mention of any diarchy in the contemporary foreign references to Iberia, but, on the contrary, only references to sole monarchs, such as Pharsmanes I, Mithridates II, Amazaspes, Pharasmanes II (cf., e.g., Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 146); the alleged succession to the two parallel thrones is naively artificial, the diarchs ascending and dying simultaneously; finally, the name of one of them offers the clue to the story. It is 'Armazael' (Leont. Mrov. 45, 46, 47, 50, 100 [in some MSS: 'Amazar,' 'Amza(h)er']; cf. my 'Caucasia and Byzantine Studies,' *Traditio* 12 [1956] 414-415) which is borne by the Mc'xet'a counterpart of King Azork of Armazi. But actually it is no name at all, but the territorial epithet of, precisely, the latter, being the Georgian for 'of Armazi.' Azork was so dubbed because, doubtless, he had chosen the old capital of Iberia for his residence (in the same way, King Vaxtang I's son, King Dač'i was surnamed 'Ujarmeli,' because the city of Ujarma, and not Mc'xet'a, appears to have been his residence: Toumanoff, *Iberia* 35). Seeing this, Leontius or his source split that king into two: one, king indeed at Armazi and the other, at the usual and newer Iberian capital of Mc'xet'a. Others must then have been added for good measure. A vague memory of some historical reality must, at the same time, have endowed this construction with credibility. Javaxišvili has suggested, with reason it seems, that this double series of kings is a memory of the actual, but briefer, division of Iberia in the years 370-378 (for which, cf. *Iberia* 23 n. 4). At the same time, the presence within the Iberian polity, precisely from the mid-first to the mid-second century, of the powerful Vitaxae of Gogarene and the construction of their sumptuous necropolis near the sacred city of Armazi may, on their part, also have contributed to the birth of the story.

This has been recognized by Ingoroqva. The only difficulty is that he has tried to prove too much. He thus speaks of the — Gušarid — 'Vitaxae of Armazi' as co-kings with the royal house of Iberia, which resided at Mc'xet'a. In so doing, he overlooks the fact pointed out by Gorgaje that it is in effect the Armazi series of kings, not the Mc'xet'a series, that contains most of the names of the Kings of Iberia known to foreign sources. Some of Ingoroqva's identifications, too, are far from convincing, like that of Kaos — one of the Mc'xet'a, *not* Armazi, kings, by the way — with the Vitaxa Publicius Agrippa.

For the rest, the list of the Iberian kings and Vitaxae drawn up by Ingoroqva involves a rather unjustifiable reshuffling of the facts of succession as found in the Iberian historical tradition. This list incorporates two hitherto unknown Kings of Iberia revealed in the Armazi documents: Flavius Dades (whom he identifies with K'art'am of the historical tradition) and Xepharnuges, whose Master of the Court was Iodmanges of the Gušarid genealogy (*supra* n. 176). The basic weakness of this construction, however, seems to me to consist in the assumption that the Vitaxae exercised sovereign rights at Armazi, when all that we are warranted to assert is that they were important enough to construct their burial ground in the vicinity of the holy city of Iberian paganism. This assumption and the correlative one of their co-kingship with the royal house, coupled with an avoidance of all recognition of the Armenian context of the Vitaxae (cf. *supra* n. 163), must have induced Ingoroqva to regard them — both the Gušarids and the Mihranids as apparently one family — as a branch of the — Pharnanazid? — royal house of Iberia, and, more than that, as also the ancestors of the Iberian Bagratids and as forming two separate branches, of the Vitaxae of Armazi and the Vitaxae of Artanuĭi in Cholarzene. In this particular view (*Giorgi Merc'ule* 72), Ingoroqva seems to have been influenced, in part, by Marr who misinterpreted as signifying 'of Artanuĭi' the ارطنج which the Arabic Life of St. Gregory connects with the title of vitaxa. Elsewhere, however, he recognizes the fact that the Arabic vocable in question must stand for Arzanene: *ibid.* 368-374, 405. That this is indeed so, has been proved by Garitte on the basis of the Greek Life, which he discovered and published in 1946 (and with which Ingoroqva is not familiar): *Documents* 200-202, 345, 346-347. See, for all this, my *Orontids* II 102-106, and *Bagr. of Iber.* II n. 64.

Note C

THE PRINCES IN THE GREGORIAN CYCLE (§ 21 Table VI *supra*)

I.

Arm. Agath. 112/795 (403-404):

... առաջին՝ իշխանն Մնգեղ տան, երկրորդ՝ իշխանն Աղ-
ձնեաց, որ է բղեաշին մեծ. երրորդ՝ իշխանն մարդպե-
տութեան իշխանութեանն, չորրորդ՝ իշխանն թագակապ
իշխանութեան ասպետութեանն, հինգերորդ՝ իշխանն սպա-
րապետութեան, զօրավար Հայոց աշխարհին. վեցերորդ՝
իշխանն Կորդովտաց աշխարհին, եօթներորդ՝ իշխանն ծովաց
աշխարհին. ութերորդ՝ իշխանն Գուգարացոց աշխարհին,
որ միւս անուանեալ բղեաշխ. իններորդ՝ իշխանն Ռշտունեաց
աշխարհին. տասներորդ՝ իշխանն Մովաց աշխարհին. մետա-
սաներորդ՝ իշխանն Սիւնեաց աշխարհին. երկոտասաներորդ՝
իշխանն Ծաղէից աշխարհին. երեքտասաներորդ՝ իշխանն
Ուտիացոց աշխարհին. չորեքտասաներորդ՝ իշխանն շահապ

**Չարաւանդ և չիւր դաւառի. հնգետասաներորդ՝ իշխանն մա-
ղխազու[թեան տանն. վեշտասաներորդ՝ իշխանն Արծրունեայ.**

'... first, the Prince of Ingilene; second, the Prince of Arzanene, who is the Great Vitaxa; third, the Prince of the principedom of the Mardpet-dom; fourth, the Prince Coronant of the principedom of the Aspet-dom; fifth, the Prince of the Constable-dom, the commander of the country of the Armenians; sixth, the Prince of the country of Corduene; seventh, the Prince of the country of Sophene; eighth, the Prince of the country of Gogarene, who is called the Other Vitaxa; ninth, the Prince of the country of Rštuni; tenth, the Prince of the country of Moxoene; eleventh, the Prince of the country of Siunia; twelfth, the Prince of the country of Zabdicene; thirteenth, the Prince of the country of Otene; fourteenth, the Prince [and] chief of the land of Zarawand and Her; fifteenth, the Prince of the Malxaz-dom; sixteenth, the Prince of the Arcrunis.'

Gk. Agath. 136:

Καὶ πρῶτος ἄρχων Ἀγγελιτῶν οἶκον, ὁ δεύτερος ἄρχων Ἀλσενῶν, ὁ τῆς κομητατησίας, ὁ τρίτος ἄρχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας Πατρίκιος λεγόμενος, ὁ τέταρτος ἄρχων ὁ τὸ διάδημα ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπιδήσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ λεγόμενος Ἀσπέτων, ὁ πέμπτος ἄρχων στρατοπεδάρχης στρατηλατικῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς Ἀρμενίων χώρας, ὁ ἕκτος ἄρχων ὁ τῆς Κορδοβιτῶν χώρας, ὁ ἑβδομος ἄρχων ὁ ἕτερος κομητατήσιος· ὁ ὄγδοος ἄρχων τῆς Ῥουστινῶν χώρας, ὁ ἑννατος ἄρχων τῆς Κωμητῶν [rectius Μωκητῶν] χώρας· ὁ δέκατος ἄρχων τῆς Σννιστῶν χώρας, ὁ δωδέκατος ἄρχων ὁ Σουδέων χώρας, καὶ ὁ τρισκαίδέκατος ἄρχων ὁ τῆς <σ>Οὔτιῶν χώρας. Ὁ τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατος, ὁ ἔθναρχος Ζαρουανδῶν καὶ Χε<κ>ρᾶς τῆς πατρίδος· ὁ πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος ἄρχων, ὁ τοῦ Μαλχασιῶν οἶκον· ὁ ἐξκαίδέκατος ἄρχων, ὁ Ἀ[ρ]σουρονῶν.

Gk. Life of St. Gregory 98:

... ὁ πρῶτος ἐν ἀρχῇ Ἰνγιληνῆς καὶ Ἀντιστηνῆς τοπάγχης· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῆς Ἀρξια[νη]νῆς πιτιάξης ὁ μέγας· ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν Μέρδων τοπάρχης· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος γενεάρχης τῶν Ὀσπιτιανῶν ἐπάρχης ὅστις κα[τα]τεταγμένος ὑπῆρχεν φυλάττειν τὰ μέρη τῶν Κανκασίων ὁρέων καὶ Τζάνων· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ὁ τῶν Μαμακουνιανῶν ἡγεμὼν, ἀσπαραπέτης, πάντας τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱππότας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἔχων ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκίαν στρατηγίαν, συνὼν τε αἰεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν πάντας τοὺς τε προηγούμενους καὶ ὑποταττομένους [...] ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκίαν στρατηγίαν· ἕκτος δὲ ὁ τοπάρχης τῶν Κορδονανῶν χώρας οὕτω καλουμένης, πλησίον ὑπαρχούσης τῶν Ἀνδριοκοδρίτων· ὁ δὲ ἑβδομος ἐξουσιαστής τῆς Μεγάλης Σωφανηνῆς πλησιαζούσης τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ· ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἡγεμὼν τῶν Γουγαρῶν χώρας, ὅστις εἶχεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀξίαν πιτιάξου· ἑννατος δὲ τῶν Ῥουστινῶν τοπάρχης· ὁ δὲ δέκατος ὁ τῶν Μοκασῶν σατράπης· ὁ δὲ ἐνδέκατος ὁ τῶν Σννίων φύλαρχος· δωδέκατος δὲ ὁ τῶν Τζαυδέων στρατηγός· ὁ δὲ τρισκαίδέκατος ὁ σατράπης Ζαυραβανδῶν καὶ Χειρῶν χώρας, καὶ τούτων πλησίον τῶν Κοδρίτων· ὁ δὲ πεντεκαίδέκατος γενεάρχης ὁ τῶν Χουρχόρων ὡς ἡγούμενος ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν καλουμένην Μαλχαζόβε· ἐξκαίδέκατος ὁ τῶν Ἀρτζ[ρ]ουνίων ἐξουσιαστής;

Arab. Life 86 (Garitte's transl. 72-73):

primus princeps 'lhbn. Secundus princeps 'rtnwj nomine vitaxa magnus. Tertius princeps 'rmθ'n. Quartus princeps 'sbytywn nomine 'sbyts, qui prae-

positus erat custodiae montium qwsywm et mțznywn. Quintus princeps mqwny'nwn nomine 'sb'r'b'ts: hic autem praefectus erat exercitui totius Armeniae, equitum et peditum, nec discedebat a rege magnae Armeniae, atque in bellis omnes quos memoravimus principes, et memorabimus, sub eius potestate erant, praeterquam quod princeps qmrđl non erat sub eius potestate, quae (regio) est iuxta fortes qrđytn. Septimus regens magnae regionis řwfnys, quae est iuxta regionem fluminum. Octavus princeps regionis ġurġr. Nonus princeps rstnwn. Decimus princeps mfnřwn. Undecimus princeps swnywn et custos. Duodecimus princeps dsbwd'wn. Decimus tertius princeps 'tywn. Decimus quartus princeps zwrydwn, et ipse iuxta qrđytn. Decimus quintus princeps ħrhwrwnys, dux, qui rector est mlĥ'zwn'h. Decimus sextus princeps 'rtzrwnyws.

For comments, see Garitte, *Documents* 215, 199, 200-202, 225, 227-228, 219, 236-237, 223, 219-220, 234, 208, 231-232, 225, 235, 237, 213-214, 238, 238-239, 223, 204; my review of Garitte, in *Traditio* 5 375-377 (correct the reading of βασιλεοπάτωρ). — The four versions complete one another (Garitte 312): thus, the passage of the Arab. Life on the [sixth] Prince of Corduene fills the lacuna in the corresponding passage of the Gk. Life; both the Gk. and the Arab. Life make it clear that the Sophene of the Arm. Agath. is Greater Sophene. The Gk. Agath. omits Sophene, but continues the numeration of the princes, notwithstanding, until it jumps from 'the tenth' to 'the twelfth'; the Gk. Life omits Otene, but continues the numeration till it jumps from 'the thirteenth' to 'the fifteenth'. The Gk. Agath. omits the name of Gogarene, but describes the 'Other Vitaxa.'

II.

Arm. Agath. 126/873 (440-441): [the initial part of the text is given *supra* § 5 at n. 37]

զմեծ իշխանն Անգեղ տան, և զԹագադիր ասպետն, և զսպարապետն մեծ, և զիշխանն Մոկաց, և զիշխանն Սիւնեաց, և զիշխանն Ռշտունեաց, և զիշխանն Մալխազութեան տանն, և զՀապն Շահապիվանի, և զիշխանն սպասկապետութեանն

'the great Prince of Ingilene, and the Coronant-Aspet, and the great High Constable, and the Prince of Moxoene, and the Prince of Siunia, and the Prince of the Rštunis, and the Prince of the Małxaz-dom, and the chief of Šahapivan, and the Prince-Master of the Court')

Gk. Agath. 165 [following the initial text cited *supra* at n. 37]

καὶ τὸν μέγιστον ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου τῶν λεγομένων Ἀγγελιτῶν, καὶ τὸν στέφοντα τὸν βασιλέα ἄρχοντα, Ἀσπετ λεγόμενον, καὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην τὸν μέγαν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Μακιτῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Συνιστῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Ρεστοννιτῶν, καὶ ἀπογράφοντα ἄρχοντα, καὶ τὸν ἐθνάρχην Σαπιανῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Πασκαπετέων ...

The above Greek rendering of *ziřxann Małxazufean tann* (lit. 'the Prince of the house of the Małxaz-dom') is very curious. One may suppose this mistranslation to have been influenced by the proximity of *małxazufiwn* and *magařaf* ('parchment'). The last two names denote offices: the commander of the King's camp at Šahapivan in Całkotn (for this: Faustus 4.15; cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien* 560-561) and the master or intendant of the Court; both must have been filled by princes.

Georgetown University.